ARTISANS AND THE CITY: A SOCIAL HISTORY OF BRISTOL'S SHOEMAKERS AND TAILORS, 1770-1800

by

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ABSTRACT

This study looks at Bristol artisans in the late eighteenth century in considerable depth, compared to generic studies of English artisans conducted in the past. The compunction to trace a nascent trade union movement that evolved into a mass movement of the latter nineteenth century, a common theme in previous studies, has been eschewed. Such an approach fails to locate and explain the purpose of labour agitation within that society, a concept that should be to the fore of any study, as artisans were hardly concerned with what their organisations were to become in a hundred years time. It is therefore vital to study workers within their own specific context of space and time, for while the national and even international context is useful, an over-reliance on uniform processes can obscure as much as it reveals. A case study can therefore establish an exact context in which artisans went to work, related to their employers (and each other), engaged with other sections of the local populace, and so on. This study therefore utilises a holistic approach, in order to provide a well-balanced socio-economic picture of the artisan experience in this period. While this approach will balance the dispute-centred bias of previous studies, it will also provide a greater understanding of the social milieu from which disputes arose. Bristol and its status as a regional metropolis in the eighteenth century offers the perfect opportunity to undertake an in-depth analysis of the two trades in question, as surprisingly little is known of eighteenth-century shoemakers and tailors beyond the confines of London.

Dedication and acknowledgements

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AUTHOR'S DECLARATION

I declare that the work in this dissertation was carried out in accordance with the Regulations of the University of Bristol. The work is original except where indicated by special reference in the text and no part of the dissertation has been submitted for any other degree. Any views expressed in the dissertation are those of the author and in no way represent those of the University of Bristol. The dissertation has not been presented to any other University for examination either in the United Kingdom or overseas.

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INTRODUCTION: PERSPECTIVES OF LABOUR HISTORY

> Our only criterion of judgement should not be whether or not a man's actions are justified in the light of subsequent evolution. After all, we are not at the end of social evolution ourselves.
> (E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (London, 1963; 1991 edn.), p. 12.)

Forty years have now passed since Edward Thompson issued this instruction and enthused a generation of labour historians with his quest to rescue the 'poor stockinger' and other workers from 'the enormous condescension of posterity'.[1] Since then numerous studies have heeded Thompson's call and enriched our knowledge of artisans and their trades, cultures and social lives.[2] It is therefore reasonable to ask why a study of Bristol's shoemakers and tailors is necessary, given the plethora of work on trades and strikes. There are two main answers to this. Firstly, historians themselves have drawn attention to the need for more work on eighteenth-century unions and trades. Robert Malcolmson comments that 'little research has been conducted on industrial relations' in this period, while John Stevenson argues that research among 'local newspaper and court records will add to the picture' of trades and strikes.[3] Likewise John Rule has conjectured that the number of disputes to be found once 'more time has been spent on the provincial press can hardly be guessed'.[4] Newspapers, as will be seen, have indeed provided a fruitful source of evidence. Furthermore, as Beverly Lemire has remarked, while 'tailors have received attention from labour and trade union historians', 'many other aspects of these ubiquitous artisans remain to be addressed'.[5]

Secondly, the majority of previous studies have been generalised works that have relied heavily on linking evidence across a wide spectrum of time and place, in order to meet various thematic criteria. By focusing on two trades in one locality over a thirty-year period, between 1770 and 1800, some of the problems created by over-generalisation can be avoided. While this study employs a thematic approach, an in-depth local study makes it possible to collect evidence without the pressure of the need to meet a *pre-ordained* range of thematic criteria. In this study the division of evidence into themes was only undertaken after the evidence was collected, rather than for example having a research remit for 'strikes' or 'food riots' and only collecting information on such events. The research process therefore involved collecting many fragments of evidence relating to Bristol's shoemakers and tailors, even when of an apparently trivial nature. This approach enriched the study, taking it beyond an initially more narrow focus on unions and strikes, by making it clear that strikes could not be fully evaluated without a broader understanding of the ordinary artisanal lives from which they arose. In this sense, the study was influenced by Rudolf Wissell, who stated as long ago as 1929 that documenting everyday

life was invaluable because 'often a piece of cultural history is embodied in it which is of incomparable value in understanding an earlier way of living, thinking and feeling'.[6]

(1) Historiography

Much of the historiography of workers' associations and strikes has long been influenced by the teleological perspectives of a 'grand narrative' approach. The quest to chart union action across a long time frame is either implicit or explicit in most labour studies. Pioneers like the Webbs, writing in the late nineteenth century, argued that the trade unions of their own day originated in the organisational practices and outlook of 'manual workers' in the eighteenth century.[7] The main basis for this lay in their contention that woollen workers, for example, possessed a horizontal form of consciousness compared to the 'trade' outlook of town-based artisans.[8] The tendency to link past labour actions with those of the present is likewise evident in the more recent work of Anna Clark. Clark justified her focus on gender relations in the early nineteenth century textile trades on the basis that combinations in this period laid the 'groundwork for the later trade union movement', as nascent unions began to 'create the infrastructure for the working-class movement as a whole'.[9] Other historians have identified the eighteenth century as a turning point when some forms of action were jettisoned in favour of the allegedly more sophisticated option of union organisation. Eric Hobsbawm, for example, argued that the development of the trade union movement was preceded by a system of 'collective bargaining by riot', and that the selective destruction of property by workers represented a 'traditional and established part of industrial conflict' in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.[10] Similarly Stevenson contends that workers increasingly began 'to use industrial action as a substitute for food rioting' towards the end of the eighteenth century, as 'strikes and trade union organisation' became the most 'popular form of protest over wages and living conditions'.[11] Adrian Randall has critiqued such interpretations, arguing that they are products of 'a modernisation of protest' theory that cannot be 'sustained'.[12]

The apparent need to search for 'origins' has taken some scholars even further back in time. Numerous scholars have sought to account for the flourishing union activity of the latter eighteenth century as being attributable to the decline in guild organisations. Brentano, for example, asserted as early as 1870 that 'trade unions are the successors of the old Guilds' on the basis that the former sought to uphold the protective labour statutes of the Tudor period.[13] More recently, Chase has argued that defence of apprenticeship laws was so vital 'to the concerns of the early trade unions that their emergence corresponded closely to the decline in effectiveness of the Statute'.[14] This study questions such links. Research has failed to turn up any evidence that issues of apprenticeship or protective

labour legislation were concerns of Bristol's shoemakers and tailors in the years between 1770 and 1800. Indeed, the last prosecution in Bristol under apprenticeship legislation occurred in the baking trade in 1772.[15] This work therefore supports the Webbs who stated that 'neither in Bristol nor in Preston' or any other urban centre had they 'been able to trace the slightest connection between the slowly dying gilds and the upstarting Trade Unions'.[16] The only possible connection that can exist lies in the general context. For there would appear to be a correlation between a national decline in the tailors' and shoemakers' guilds between 1725 and 1750, and an upsurge in disputes in these sectors in late eighteenth-century Bristol, as will be seen in Chapter Five.[17]

Teleological approaches have perhaps received a boost from research, showing that the classic notion of an 'Industrial Revolution' in which quickening economic growth led to a concomitant growth in mechanised production and factory labour, was not particularly accurate.[18] According to Friedrich Lenger, for example, factory production only became important in shoemaking 'during the third quarter of the nineteenth century'.[19] Indeed, because this was also the case in many other trades, Lenger dates what he terms the 'artisanal phase of the labour movement' as spanning the period from the late eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth centuries in England, France, Germany and the United States.[20] Such views are strengthened by Thompson's claim that even as late as 1830 the 'characteristic industrial worker' worked not in a mill or factory but in 'a small workshop or in his own home'.[21] The fact that industrial production relied so heavily on artisanal modes of production until the mid-nineteenth century, has led scholars such as Chase, Lis and Soly, to argue that the objectives of 'many pre-industrial journeymen associations' were not essentially different from their nineteenth-century counterparts.[22]

The idea that associations of journeymen flourished under industrialisation has been further eroded by John Rule's argument that it was the 'separation of labour and capital' rather than industrialisation that provided the basis 'for the emergence of the perception of a distinct labour interest'.[23] On the basis that by 1800 only 5 per cent of the 'working-class population of London' were 'self-employed' Rule reasons that the 'class of permanent journeymen in urban trades was very large'.[24] However, wage labour was hardly new to eighteenth-century society. Clarkson notes that 'wage-earners were numerous' in early sixteenth-century England, while the growth of wage labour in the eighteenth century was evident in the fact that by 1800 45 per cent of the national income was attributed to wages.[25] Meanwhile, Lis and Soly trace the emergence of waged labour as far back as the thirteenth century, concluding that the eighteenth century merely marked the 'culmination

of strategies and tactics which had already been in use for centuries by very different groups of workers'.[26]

However, while there is some value in being able to establish that labour agitation can be traced much further back than the period of the 'Industrial Revolution', this does not necessarily tell us very much about the role of labour agitation in a particular place and time. It is therefore crucial to establish an exact context for any specific study. This study therefore supports Thompson's notion that people's actions 'were valid in terms of their own experience', and that knowledge of subsequent developments should not obscure our interpretation of the behaviour of historical actors.[27] Nevertheless, the benefit of hindsight does suggest that the eighteenth century provided many instances of workers' actions, and thus proffering fruitful lines of enquiry, it is important to establish the *context* in which action occurred.

While labour action in the eighteenth century may not have been an everyday occurrence, it was far from a rarity. Dobson has provided a count of 383 labour disputes between 1717 and 1800, a figure which itself testifies to the relatively widespread occurrence of combination activity in the eighteenth century.[28] Rule describes the 'industrial dispute' as 'the characteristic form of conflict' among artisans and remarks that while scholars once talked of 'dozens' of eighteenth-century disputes 'they now must accept hundreds'.[29] Likewise Sonenscher reports that it is possible to locate 'over 500 disputes in the French trades between the mid-seventeenth century and the early years of the Revolution'.[30] However, the historical evidence has been less illuminating as to the forms of organisation underpinning such actions, no doubt due to the illegal nature of 'combinations' and the secrecy required among strike leaders.[31] Evidence from the eighteenth century of fully-fledged trade unions is extremely rare. As a result, modern historians have eschewed the Webbs' focus upon trade unions as 'a continuous association of wage-earners for the purpose of maintaining or improving the conditions of their working lives'.[32] Dobson, for example, argues that 'the most consistently successful bargainers were those with a permanent base for continuous association', often based around the pub ('house of call'), while Rule has asserted that an informal continuity resided within 'the workplace or village club' rather than in outwardly organisational forms.[33] Rule notes that specific organisations were not necessarily required since workers 'preserved in experience and tradition a sufficient knowledge of possible forms of action', while Thompson remarked that while 'no record of continuous organization' may exist, there was 'certainly a continuous tradition of trade union activity throughout the (eighteenth) century'.[34] Tramping networks, based around pubs known as 'houses of call', provide perhaps the most compelling

evidence of the informal nature of workers' organisations. The ways in which this system aided the work process are examined in chapter two, while its use during industrial action is assessed in chapter five.

However the provision of a context for the study of urban artisans is rather scarce within the general literature, as localised studies of urban artisans are relatively rare. This is largely due to the fact that most previous studies have focused on broader communities of workers such as weavers, colliers, and seamen, where issues of trade and community closely overlapped, and where the weapon of the crowd and direct action were often utilised. Focus on such groups is perhaps understandable. Pre-occupation with cotton textiles was partly a product of the trade's position as 'the growth industry of the eighteenth century', with 114,000 families dependent on this industry for employment as early as 1759. This factor also accounts for its symbolic importance in earlier literature as the 'true pioneer of the modern factory system'.[35] However, historians also focused on such groups because of their apparently exceptional nature and particularly because of the relatively high levels of conflict and dispute which characterised them. Dobson, for example, justifies his choice of subject by noting that weavers held 'the record for the number of strikes' in the eighteenth century with 'seamen in second place'.[36] This approach has, however, tended to skew historical interpretations in certain directions. Most obviously, it over-privileges groups which were most involved in action. It has, however, also led to a tendency to over-generalisation on the basis of the histories of certain groups. Thus, as Lis and Soly observe, for example, 'the impression that protests among pre-industrial workers were defensive and socially conservative' appears to arise 'primarily from the excessive emphasis placed by (mostly British) historians on actions led by textile workers during the eighteenth century'.[37]

In seeking to account for the apparently higher levels of dispute in certain trades, as well as the specific strategies adopted, historians have emphasised the importance of place. Thus, Dobson, for example, accounts for the apparently strike-prone nature of certain trades in terms of the theory of an 'isolated mass'. He argues that because groups such as weavers and colliers lived in 'separate communities' there were 'few neutrals..... to mediate conflicts and dilute the mass'.[38] Other historians have, however, pointed to the disparities of experience across different trades. Thus, while Chase argues that '*most* workers continued to live in the vicinity of their work' until the latter nineteenth century, Clark's work highlights differences of region as well as of trade.[39] Thus, her work on London artisans reveals that, while tailors and shoemakers clustered in certain areas such as St. James, many lived in areas surrounded by other members of the urban poor, with the result

that the workshop and pub 'defined their community' rather than the street.[40] By contrast, Lancashire textile villages in which marriage registers listed between one-third and one-half of couples as hand-loom weavers are, not surprisingly, described by Clark as 'extremely cohesive' communities.[41] Knowledge about the residential density of specific trades is crucial to our understanding of patterns and strategies of collective action. In London, for example, 'groups like tailors and shoemakers were numbered in thousands', a concentration of numbers which meant labour disputes could involve instances of crowd action.[42] In 1768, for example, master shoemakers who were refusing a wage rise had the windows of their houses smashed. Likewise in February 1792 'a thousand shoemakers' assembled outside a London court, to protest at the arrest of fellow shoemakers during a dispute.[43] Such instances point to the importance of trade *density* and *concentration*; suggesting that the number of workers in any given trade in any given locality was as important a factor than any trade having a monopoly on particular modes of action. In this regard Randall's comment that eighteenth-century combinations should not be viewed in 'isolation from their social context or simply as prototypes for later trade unionism' but rather as 'indigenous to pre-industrial society' is instructive.[44] In line with this, it is important to chart the geographic distribution of Bristol's shoemakers and tailors across the city. This task is undertaken in chapter three.

More recently, historians have emphasised the diverse complexities and ambiguities of worker organisation in this period. Lis and Soly, for example, enunciate a division between two main types of worker: those with strong shop-floor organisation who were able to 'develop negotiating techniques and organize strikes' and 'those that were weaker' and 'usually had to resort to petitions, street demonstrations and riots'.[45] Likewise Charles Tilly, in his study of 'contentious gatherings', concludes that while trade disputes often involved 'mass strikes, machine-breaking, and attacks on the houses of masters', such phenomena were less prevalent among artisans.[46] Thus an important element to understanding the context in which artisans lived and worked is the type of community they inhabited.

In the eighteenth century Bristol was home to many industries and fields of commerce. Mathews, compiler of the 1794 Bristol trade directory, mentions in his preface that the eastern areas of Bristol were full of 'glass-houses, iron-foundries, distilleries, breweries, and sugar-houses'.[47] By 1800 Bristol could lay claim to 'eleven glassworks' which produced many glass bottles as well as 'large quantities of window glass' and which supplied not only local hinterlands in the West Country and South Wales, but also 'America and Ireland'.[48] According to Mathews, Bristol had been the first place in England

to manufacture soap, dating back to 1523, and by the eighteenth century the city produced a 'hard white soap' which 'was held by contemporaries to be superior to any made in England'.[49] Given the widespread nature of Bristol's commercial trading links it is hardly surprising that Bristol was also a 'shipbuilding centre of some importance'; 176 vessels were built in the city's docks between 1787 and 1800.[50]

Prior to the eighteenth century Bristol had been a major trader in the markets of Ireland, France, and Spain. In the eighteenth century, however, it was 'the growth of transatlantic commerce' which was the key to Bristol's commerce.[51] Thus, 'rum, slaves, tobacco and sugar were the main ingredients of Bristol's prosperity' in the eighteenth century.[52] So extensive and important were Bristol's domestic and foreign trading links that Defoe described the city as the 'metropolis of the west'.[53] During this period Bristol's economy can best be described as semi-industrial, given the importance of its commercial sector and despite the existence of some workplaces which were relatively large, nevertheless only employed a minority of the city's workforce. Bristol's economy therefore never matched the classic 'Industrial Revolution' model, and thus highlights the importance of Thompson's observation that it is crucial to analyse the eighteenth century as a society in its own right.[54]

Within eighteenth-century society an 'artisan' was so described if he had, either by an apprenticeship or similar training 'come to possess a skill in a particular craft and the right to exercise it'.[55] John Rule has popularised the idea that a fundamental component of artisan life lay in defending a 'property in skill'. However, this was largely 'assumed rather than articulated' until the late eighteenth century, when it was brought to the surface by growing threats to apprenticeship statutes (from employers and State alike) that culminated in their repeal in 1814.[56] The extent to which artisanal identity was shaped by the need to defend a 'property in skill' was therefore not fundamental until the early nineteenth century. Thus, not surprisingly perhaps, such issues were rarely enunciated by Bristol's shoemakers and tailors in the period under study, and do not therefore constitute a major component of this study. However, while acknowledging this, issues such as the defence of apprenticeship regulations and of the 'property in skill' were never wholly unimportant to Bristol's artisans. In 1814, for example, the bill to repeal the apprenticeship clauses of the 1563 Statute of Artificers was opposed by a petition signed by 5, 811 men.[57] Such evidence suggests that the 'property of skill' thesis does not represent a totally fruitless line of enquiry even for the earlier period studied here. According to Rule, distinctions between skilled and unskilled work were as 'much rooted in social and gender distinctions' as they were in 'technical aptitude'; thus, for example, male domination of cotton (mule) spinning

led to it being defined as 'skilled'.[58] Skill was therefore a 'male property' and one through which the 'symbolic capital of honour' entitled 'its holder to dignity and respect' from employers.[59] Partly with such issues in mind, an assessment of the impact of female labour on the Bristol shoemaking and tailoring trades is undertaken in chapter two.

The question of whether artisans in the late eighteenth century possessed a consciousness of themselves as a separate class of workers is a problematic one. As indicated earlier in this introduction, the emergence of waged labour long pre-dated this period, while the ever-growing number of men totally reliant on wages for their upkeep had grown to the extent that the separation of a distinct labour interest had been discernible for many decades. Rule argues, moreover, that social mobility was increasingly prohibitive for many journeymen, because they were unable to afford to set themselves up as masters, with the result that the 'class of permanent journeymen in urban trades was very large'.[60] Analysis of the discord that such processes caused between masters and journeymen in the two Bristol trades is dealt with fully in chapter five.

A summary of the key theoretical and historiographical debates regarding class in this period is nevertheless crucial at this stage. Scholars have long contended that 'class', in the more modern sense of the term, had little relevance or meaning to studies of eighteenth-century society. Asa Briggs, for example, argued that class as a cognisant and linguistic factor in British society did not appear on the historical scene until the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.[61] Thompson largely followed this interpretation by asserting that class was not a recognisable issue within the historical evidence until the 1790s. Despite this, Thompson contended that class analysis was nevertheless valuable as a heuristic device, with which to de-code social conflict. Thus, he hypothesised that eighteenth-century social relations were characterised by a societal 'field-of-force' with the 'plebeian' mass that made up the crowd and the gentry at opposite poles.[62] However, this analysis related largely to the rural labourers who formed the basis of Thompson's studies of food riots, and thus holds at best limited significance to a study of an urban regional metropolis such as Bristol.

According to Penelope Corfield social divisions in urban eighteenth-century England were characterised by an increasing 'linguistic fluidity'. While terms such as 'sort' and 'class' were more expressive of social and economic changes, those such as 'ranks' and 'orders' tended to reflect more traditional measures of status.[63] Indeed, by this juncture Bristol, in common with London, was 'essentially a two and not a three-class society'. Thus, while 'there was a middle-class and a lower-class', 'the city could not boast of a noble or an

aristocratic class'.[64] However, despite the rural bias of Thompson's work on the eighteenth century, there is much to suggest that Thompson was right to contend that the consciousness of urban artisans was that of the 'Trade'. Likewise his assertion that acrimony was most likely to develop over their position as consumers than as producers, raises some interesting research questions for the urban as for the rural context.[65] While Thompson was primarily referring to the involvement of rural workers in food riots, it seems likely that workers could translate grievances over rising food prices into demands for higher wages. Chapter five of this study therefore analyses the extent to which it was their position as 'consumers' or 'producers' that drove Bristol's journeymen shoemakers and tailors to undertake industrial action.

However, materialist approaches to social history have come under sustained attack in recent years, particularly from perspectives that draw upon the theoretical frameworks and insights of postmodernism. In the forefront of such challenges has been Patrick Joyce, who claims that past events are inseparable from the 'historical discourses that construct them'. Class, he argues, on this basis, had no 'objective reality' outside its social construction by historical actors.[66] This approach explicitly rejects the notion that it is possible to relate historical sources to any material 'reality', and suggests that the focus should lie instead on the ways in which historical sources were both shaped by, and implicated in, the construction of various discourses. Such debates regarding what has become known as the 'linguistic turn' have centred mainly on the nineteenth century. Many scholars have either passionately defended or opposed this approach.[67] Such views have nevertheless been more broadly pervasive and, despite their nineteenth-century emphasis, have influenced the study of early modern European artisans. Thus Farr, for example, contends that economic questions such as labour and production issues must be considered within the cultural context in which they were generated, on the basis that 'labour and production' issues were as 'cultural as any other human activity'.[68] Ultimately, whether one believes that language reflects a material reality or not is largely a matter of faith, since evidence can be marshalled either way. This study has been conducted in the belief that it *is* possible to access the material world of eighteenth-century Bristol through contemporary sources. It therefore concurs with Crossick who asserts that 'artisans would exist in neither our sources nor our imagination had they not been performing an economic activity within production or the provision of services'.[69]

This is not, however, to assert that the revisionist approach is entirely without merit. Thus, for example, this project takes on board Joyce's assertion of the value of 'extra-proletarian identification' and of the importance of categories such as nation, region, community, and

class to any understanding of the diversity of loyalties inherent in each individual.[70] Indeed, the study seeks to further explore the significance of this contention that individuals possess multiple identities for an earlier period. Historians working on other eighteenth-century societies have drawn fruitfully upon such theoretical frameworks. Thus, Sonenscher, for example, argues that artisans in eighteenth-century France developed 'general conceptions of the social and political order' which stood outside 'the language of class'.[71] He maintains that workers developed a vocabulary drawn not from the 'experience of particular trades' but from 'eighteenth-century civil jurisprudence' and 'natural law', and that, as a result, conflicts drew upon 'images, metaphors and fictions drawn from the whole repertoire of social transaction of the eighteenth-century French polity'.[72] Building on such insights, this study contends that the emergence of a 'public sphere' in late eighteenth-century England, especially through such mechanisms as the developing provincial press, provided new cultural arenas in which artisans as much as the middle-class could express themselves.[73] Chapter five examines the manner in which artisans used newspaper space to further their aims, a facet of artisanal agitation overlooked by other scholars.[74] Finally, as Charles Tilly among others has shown, electoral politics and affiliations were also components of the multi-faceted identities of artisans.[75] Chapter six therefore evaluates the engagement of artisans with electoral politics, an approach that is particularly relevant with regards to the shoemakers who have been described in one influential study in particular as an articulate, book-loving group who were regarded as the 'ideologists of the common people'.[76]

(2) Sources – Newspapers, Poll Books, and Trade Directories

Given their growth and increasing readership in this period, newspapers are a particularly appropriate source for any study of the late eighteenth century. Evidence of their growing circulation and importance can be seen, for example, in the increasing number of stamps issued by the stamp office. These rose from 9.5 million in 1760 to 12.7 million in 1775 and 16 million in 1801.[77] Stamps represented the taxation imposed on newspapers, decried as 'taxes on knowledge' by contemporaries, and the relatively systematic nature of this taxation process makes stamps a good measure of the growth in newspaper sales.[78] According to Burnett the 'circulation of newspapers doubled' between 1753 and 1792 as newspapers came to be read by wider sections of society.[79]

Despite this overall growth, the proliferation of provincial newspapers, in contrast to the flourishing industry in all forms of printed media in London, was slow in the early eighteenth century. The growth of the provincial press nevertheless accelerated in the

period between 1770 and 1800. Thus while there were only 32 provincial papers in 1753, there were 50 by 1770 and in excess of 100 by 1808.[80] Here Bristol seems to have been no exception. Indeed, the city may even have led the way; according to Cranfield, for example, Bristol provides 'the earliest extant copy' of a provincial paper dating from 1704.[81] The involvement of the Farley family in Bristol newspapers was pivotal to the development of a provincial press in the region. Various members of the Farley clan were 'responsible for papers in Exeter, Bristol, Salisbury and Bath' and, as Cranfield asserts, 'no other family played quite so prominent a role in the development of the early provincial newspaper press'.[82]

Provincial newspapers are an exceptionally rich source for historians of trades. Of particular significance to this study is the extent of newspaper space given over to advertising. According to Feather, advertising was a 'conspicuous feature of newspapers' in this period. Christie likewise acknowledges the 'important commercial service to the community' which advertising performed, and Aspinall concludes that advertising revenue was vital since the sale of newspapers rarely met production costs.[83] According to Cranfield, as early as the 1750s, Bristol's newspapers had become 'virtually trade papers with their main emphasis upon local trade and commerce'.[84] The extent of a paper's distribution network was utilised to market the benefits of advertising space. Thus, for example, the masthead of the *Bristol Gazette* declared in 1767 that, given its extensive circulation throughout Gloucestershire, Somerset, and South Wales, the 'Advantage of ADVERTISING in it cannot but be obvious (*sic*)'.[85] Likewise, the distribution cycle of the *Bristol Mercury* in 1792 stretched throughout Somerset, Gloucestershire, Wiltshire, and South Wales to London, York, Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, Oxford, and Cambridge.[86] Given this wide circulation of most provincial newspapers, largely for advertising purposes, Jeremy Black has quite rightly asserted that 'most provincial papers were not local papers in the modern sense'.[87]

One of the key reasons that newspapers represent such a rich source is precisely because so much of the content was taken up with adverts and inserted letters, with the result that much of the paper was untainted by editorial biases. Letters and insertions placed in the newspapers therefore represented independent documents on their own. Newspapers are also a valuable resource because artisans used and read them. Indeed, evidence of this wide readership exists in the newspapers themselves. In 1726, for example, a shoemaker wrote to one paper describing how he and the three others that shared his garret pooled their resources to purchase a newspaper.[88] Likewise Robert Bloomfield, a London-based shoemaker, described in the 1790s how 'yesterday's paper (was) brought in with their

dinner by the pot-boy from a neighbouring public-house', and how he read it aloud to five other shoemakers.[89] Such evidence not only speaks to the relevance of newspapers to artisans, but also shows that, due to such group readings, the readership of newspapers was far in excess of official sale and circulation figures. As a recent study of retailing in Hampshire asserts, newspapers were widely read, and, as such, were 'popular vehicles for the transmission of information at this period'.[90] This combined with the fact that provincial newspapers have rarely been used extensively by historians of trades, suggests that analysis of this source will reveal fresh information and provide the basis of new insights.

During the period from 1770 to 1800 six weekly newspapers operated in Bristol, albeit at different times. While there are some gaps in the collection, not even one month during the entire period was left without some coverage. Thus *Felix Farley's Bristol Journal* was the only paper to have extant copies for the entire period, for while the *Bristol Gazette* ran between 1771 and 1799 very few extant copies have survived from the 1780s. Covering fairly long periods also were *Bonner and Middleton's Bristol Journal*, having copies between 1774 and 1800, while *Sarah Farley's Bristol Journal* ran fairly consistently between 1777 and 1799. Furthermore two papers covered much shorter periods at separate ends of the period, as the *Bristol Journal* ran between 1769 and 1777, while the *Bristol Mercury* ran between 1790 and 1798.[91] All these newspapers were issued on Saturdays, apart from the *Bristol Gazette*, which came out on Thursdays, and the *Bristol Mercury* which hit the streets on Mondays after its appearance from 1790. In the interests of conducting a comprehensive search, every extant copy of the above newspapers between 1769 and 1800 was accessed, and every advert related to the two trades was transcribed. In addition relevant information within the column relating to local news was also collected.

Two other sources were also of paramount importance to this study: poll books and trade directories. Poll books included lists of all freemen with the right to vote in parliamentary elections and, because Bristol enjoyed a relatively wide freeman franchise of up to 6,000 individuals in this period, these included many shoemakers and tailors. Crucially, because franchise entitlements for artisans were primarily based on having served an apprenticeship in Bristol, meant that poll books included journeymen as well as masters. Although voters provided their own description of their occupation, this is unlikely to adversely affect this study because, for obvious reasons, describing oneself as a 'shoemaker' or 'tailor' did not carry the sorts of prestige and status connotations that using labels such as 'gentleman' did. Indeed, the comprehensive listing of occupations which these eighteenth-century Bristol poll books provide is in fact a great asset for the historian; R. J. Morris laments that in the

entire period before 1872, when secret ballots were introduced, many poll books 'have no occupational titles'.[92] This study has utilised all the extant poll books for Bristol in the second half of the eighteenth century; such books exist for 1754, 1774, 1781, and 1784.

Trade directories were also extremely useful, as they comprised lists of businesses in various trades and thus enabled a sample purely of masters to be compiled. In common with newspapers, trade directories owed their origins and growth to the growing thirst for commercial information. According to Norton, commercial directories originated in London where 'the expansion of industry and commerce in the eighteenth century' meant that 'the usefulness of directories became generally recognised'.[93] Liverpool, Manchester and Bristol were among the 'first provincial towns' to create directories partly reflecting the fact that these cities 'owed their expansion at this time mainly to the growth of foreign commerce'.[94] Corfield asserts that directories were particularly conducive to 'industrial centres that contained many small masters and a variety of business enterprises', a description she applies to Birmingham and Sheffield, but one that is also just as appropriate to Bristol in this period.[95] Although the production of directories was place-specific, the process was inter-connected; thus, it was James Sketchley, the man responsible for printing the first provincial directory for Birmingham in 1763, who printed the first Bristol directory in 1775.[96] By the 1780s directories were commonplace and were 'recognised as useful and necessary instruments of communication'.[97] The popularity of directories in Bristol was apparently unparalleled; the city produced more editions of its directories between 1731 and 1830 than any other English town, with Birmingham and Liverpool in second and third place respectively.[98] Seven separate titles were published in Bristol in these years, accounting for forty editions in all.

The reliability of directories is related to the manner in which information was collected. Many compilers claimed to have visited every house in the area covered. Thus, Joseph Mathews, for example, claimed that his 1812 Bristol directory was the result of his personally visiting every house 'of trade and respectability'.[99] Of course, even such a thorough approach as this relied on people volunteering the required information. Nevertheless, despite some limitations, such methods of data collection do suggest that trade directories were relatively comprehensive sources of information. Other methodological issues arise from the possibility of a time lag between the date of collecting the information and the date of publication. However, the Bristol directories would appear to be relatively reliable in this respect; publication occurred normally within only two or three months of the information being collected.[100] Thus, while directories are in some ways an imperfect source, they nevertheless provide a valuable tool with which to

identify and construct a sample of masters trading on their own terms, and the Bristol directories for 1775, 1785, and 1794 have been utilised to this end.

The preceding pages have explored some of the ideas and debates that inform this study, as well as identifying the key primary sources used. At this stage, it is important to chart briefly how the study intends to bring the various strands of the study together. Chapter one analyses the marketing language of trade advertisements in order to delineate between the ready-made market in shoes and clothes, and the more exclusive 'bespoke' market. Chapter two utilises a variety of sources to assess the division of labour, including the role of gender in the organisation of labour of both trades, and to examine the mobility of labour within the two trades. Chapter three establishes the 'quality of life' of Bristol's shoemakers and tailors and their families. A key aspect of this chapter consists of an analysis of electoral poll books to provide data on the relative residential density of shoemakers and tailors within Bristol's parishes. This makes it possible to ascertain, for example, whether the two trades resided in the more unsanitary and overcrowded areas of the city. The impact of occupational health problems is also assessed. Chapter four complements its predecessor by undertaking a quantitative survey of the journeymen shoemakers' and tailors' standard of living. This is achieved by assessing the movements of local food prices and wage-rates in this period, and then by adjusting the budget weightings collected for the 'labouring poor' by contemporary surveys to the consumption patterns of urban artisans. This makes it possible to ascertain whether real wages rose or fell in the period. All the preceding chapters, although especially chapter four, then provide a qualitative and quantitative context for chapter five which analyses a series of strikes in both trades. This chapter seeks to advance our understanding of 'labour history' by considering how Bristol's shoemakers and tailors looked to the 'public sphere' arena of the newspaper press, as a means of literally advertising their industrial grievances. Chapter six further assesses the engagement of artisans in the 'public sphere' by focusing on the voting trends of shoemakers and tailors during the three parliamentary elections of 1774, 1781, and 1784. This provides the basis for an examination of whether these trades had distinct voting interests in comparison to the electorate as a whole. Overall, the thesis seeks to complement, and build upon, existing avenues of scholarly enquiry, such as the more established focus on strikes, while at the same time opening up new areas of investigation such as the engagement of artisans with parliamentary politics and the 'public sphere'.

ENDNOTES

[1] E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (London, 1963; 1991 edn.), p. 12.
[2] D. Alexander, *Retailing in England during the Industrial Revolution* (London, 1970); I. Prothero, *Artisans and Politics in Early Nineteenth-Century London: John Gast and his Times* (Folkestone, 1979); C. R. Dobson, *Masters and Journeymen: A prehistory of Industrial Relations, 1717-1800* (London, 1980); J. Rule, *The Experience of Labour in Eighteenth-Century Industry* (London, 1981); R. W. Malcolmson, *Life and Labour in England, 1700-1780* (London, 1981); J. Hoppit, *Risk and Failure in English Business* (Cambridge, 1987); A. Randall, *Before the Luddites: Custom, Community and Machinery in the English Woollen Industry, 1776-1809* (Cambridge, 1991); M. Sonenscher, *Work and Wages: Natural Law, Politics and the eighteenth-century French trades* (Cambridge, 1989); J. R. Farr, *Artisans in Europe, 1300-1914* (Cambridge, 2000); M. Chase, *Early Trade Unionism: Fraternity, Skill and the Politics of Labour* (Aldershot, 2000). Of course these examples do not constitute a comprehensive list.
[3] Malcolmson, *Life and Labour*, p. 113.; J. Stevenson, *Popular Disturbances in England, 1700-1870* (London, 1979), p. 133.
[4] J. Rule (ed.), *British Trade Unionism, 1750-1850* (London, 1988), p. 2.
[5] B. Lemire, *Dress, Culture and Commerce: The English Clothing Trade before the Factory, 1660-1800* (London, 1997), p. 5.
[6] Cited in R. Reith, 'The social history of craft in Germany: a new edition of the work of Rudolf Wissell', *International Review of Social History*, 36 (1991), p. 95, 100. Likewise Rule has asserted that strikes can uncover 'levels of working life otherwise submerged' as he called for historians to dig 'deeper in search of the everyday' even though it was 'harder to discover the usual'. J. Rule, 'Against Innovation? Custom and Resistance in the Workplace, 1700-1850' in T. Harris (ed.), *Popular Culture in England, 1700-1850* (London, 1995), p. 168.
[7] S. and B. Webb, *The History of Trade Unionism, 1666-1920* (London, 1894; 1920 edn.), pp. 45-46.
[8] *Ibid.*
[9] A. Clark, *The Struggle for the Breeches: Gender and the Making of the British Working Class* (London, 1995), p. 140.
[10] E. Hobsbawm, *Labouring Men* (London, 1964), pp. 7-8.
[11] Stevenson, *Popular Disturbances*, p. 135.
[12] A. Randall, 'The Industrial Moral Economy of the Gloucestershire Weavers in the Eighteenth Century' in J. Rule (ed.), *British Trade Unionism, 1750-1850* (London, 1988), p. 30.
[13] L. Brentano, *On Gilds and Trade Unions* (London, 1870), p. 103.
[14] M. Chase, *Early Trade Unionism: Fraternity, Skill, and the Politics of Labour* (Aldershot, 2000), p. 28.
[15] J. Latimer, *The Annals of Bristol in the Eighteenth Century* (Bristol, 1893), p. 401.
[16] Webb, *History of Trade Unionism*, p. 14.
[17] Chase, *Early Trade Unionism*, p. 22, 52.
[18] *Ibid.*, p. 33.
[19] F. Lenger, 'Beyond Exceptionalism: Notes on the Artisanal Phase of the Labour Movement in France, England, Germany and the United States', *International Review of Social History*, 36, 1991, p. 9.
[20] *Ibid.*, pp. 1-2.
[21] Thompson, *Making of the English Working Class*, p. 259.
[22] C. Lis and H. Soly, '"An Irresistible Phalanx": Journeymen Associations in Western Europe, 1300-1800' in C. Lis, J. Lucassen, and H. Soly (eds), 'Before the Unions: Wage Earners and Collective Action in Europe, 1300-1850', *International Review of Social History*, 39, supplement no. 2, 1994, p. 3, 50.; Chase, *Early Trade Unionism*, p. 33.
[23] Rule (ed.), *British Trade Unionism*, p. 1.
[24] J. Rule, 'The Property of Skill in the Period of Manufacture' in Joyce, P., (ed.), *The Historical Meanings of Work* (Cambridge 1987), p. 102.
[25] L. A. Clarkson, 'Wage Labour, 1500-1800' in K. Brown (ed.), *The English Labour Movement* (Dublin, 1982), pp. 2-3.
[26] C. Lis, J. Lucassen, and H. Soly (eds), 'Before the Unions: Wage earners and Collective Action in Europe, 1300-1850', *International Review of Social History*, 39, supplement no. 2, (1994), p. 7.
[27] Thompson, *Making of the English Working Class*, p. 12.
[28] Dobson, *Masters and Journeymen*, pp. 154-170.
[29] J. Rule, 'Labour Consciousness and Industrial Conflict in Eighteenth-Century Exeter' in B. Stapleton (ed.), *Conflict and Community in Southern England: Essays in the Social History of Rural and Urban Labour from Medieval to Modern Times* (Stroud, 1992), p. 93.
[30] Sonenscher, *Work and Wages*, p. 245.
[31] J. Orth, *Combination and Conspiracy: A Legal History of Trade Unionism, 1721-1906* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 199-204, or J. Moher, 'From Suppression to Containment: Roots of Trade Union Law to 1825' in J. Rule (ed.), *British Trade Unionism, 1750-1850* (London, 1988), p. 76. Both these essays list the piecemeal legislation that outlawed combination activity in certain trades and places before the uniform legislation of 1799 and 1800, banning combinations in all trades, was introduced.

[32] Webb, *History of Trade Unionism*, p. 1.
[33] Dobson, *Masters and Journeymen*, p. 25.; J. Rule, *The Labouring Classes in Early Industrial England, 1750-1850* (London, 1986), p. 256.
[34] Rule, *Experience of Labour*, p. 151.; E. P. Thompson, *Customs in Common* (London, 1991), p. 59.
[35] Rule, *Experience of Labour*, pp. 23-24.
[36] Dobson, *Masters and Journeymen*, p. 30.
[37] Lis and Soly, '"An Irresistible Phalanx"', p. 39.
[38] *Ibid.*, p. 30.
[39] Chase, *Early Trade Unionism*, p. 4. (my italics).
[40] Clark, *Struggle for the Breeches*, p. 27.
[41] *Ibid.*, p. 66, 27.
[42] Rule, *Experience of Labour*, p. 21, 28.
[43] Dobson, *Masters and Journeymen*, pp. 56-57.
[44] Randall, 'Industrial Moral Economy', pp. 31-32.
[45] Lis and Soly, '"An Irresistible Phalanx"', p. 50.
[46] C. Tilly, *Popular Contention in Great Britain, 1758-1834* (Cambridge, Mass., 1995), pp. 189-190.
[47] *Mathews's Bristol guide and directory 1793-4* (Bristol, 1794).
[48] W. Minchinton, 'The Port of Bristol in the Eighteenth Century' in P. McGrath (ed.), *Bristol in the 18th Century* (Bristol, 1972), p. 133.
[49] *Mathews's Bristol guide*, p. 41; Minchinton, 'The Port of Bristol', p. 133.
[50] Minchinton, 'The Port of Bristol', p. 134.
[51] *Ibid.*, p. 128.
[52] *Ibid.*, p. 130.
[53] *Ibid.*, p. 134.
[54] E. P. Thompson, 'English Trade Unionism and Other Labour Movements before 1790', *Bulletin of the Society for the Study of Labour*, 17, (1968), p. 20.
[55] Rule, 'Property of Skill', p. 102.
[56] *Ibid.*, pp. 104-105.
[57] Prothero, *Artisans and Politics*, p. 60.
[58] Rule, 'Property of Skill', pp. 108-109.
[59] *Ibid.*
[60] *Ibid.*, p. 102.
[61] A. Briggs, ''The Language of "Class" in Early Nineteenth-Century England' in A. Briggs and J. Saville (eds), *Essays in Labour History* (London, 1960), pp. 43-73.
[62] E. P. Thompson, 'Eighteenth-Century English Society: Class Struggle without Class?', *Social History*, 2 (1978), p. 165, 149, 152-153.
[63] P. J. Corfield, 'Class by Name and Number in Eighteenth-Century Britain', *History*, 234, 72, (1987), p. 39, 47.
[64] P. T. Marcy, 'Eighteenth Century views of Bristol and Bristolians' in P. McGrath, (ed.), *Bristol in the 18th Century* (Newton Abbot, 1972), p. 29.
[65] Thompson, 'Class Struggle without Class', p. 145.
[66] P. Joyce, 'History and Post-Modernism', *Past and Present*, 133, (1991), p. 208.; P. Joyce, *Visions of the People: Industrial England and the Question of Class, 1848-1914* (Cambridge, 1991), p. 9.
[67] See R. Gray, 'The deconstructing of the English working class', *Social History*, 11, 3, (1986), pp. 363-373.; D. Mayfield and S. Thorne, 'Social history and its discontents: Gareth Stedman Jones and the politics of language', *Social History*, 17, 2, (1992), pp. 165-188; J. Lawrence and M. Taylor, 'The poverty of protest: Gareth Stedman Jones and the politics of language – a reply', *Social History*, 18, 1, (1993), pp. 1-15.; N. Kirk, 'History, language, ideas and post-modernism: a materialist view', *Social History*, 19, 2, (1994), pp. 221-240.; J. Vernon, 'Who's afraid of the "linguistic turn"? The politics of social history and its discontents', *Social History*, 19, 1, (1994), pp. 81-97.; R. Price, 'Postmodernism as theory and history' in J. Belchem and N.Kirk, (eds), *Languages of Labour* (Aldershot, 1997), pp. 11-43.; E. M. Wood and J. B. Foster, (eds), *In Defence of History: Marxism and the Postmodern Agenda* (New York, 1997). This list is by no means comprehensive.
[68] J. R. Farr, 'Cultural analysis and early modern artisans' in G. Crossick (ed.), *The Artisan and the European Town, 1500-1900* (Aldershot, 1997), p. 58.
[69] G. Crossick, Past masters: in search of the artisan in European history' in G. Crossick (ed.), *The Artisan and the European Town, 1500-1900* (Aldershot, 1997), p. 5.
[70] Joyce, *Visions of the People*, pp. 11-12.
[71] Sonenscher, *Work and Wages*, p. 246.
[72] *Ibid.*, pp. 246-247.
[73] G. Eley, 'Edward Thompson, Social History and Political Culture: The making of a working-class public, 1780-1850' in H. J. Kaye and K. McClelland (eds), *E. P. Thompson: Critical Perspectives* (Oxford, 1990), p. 14.

[74] J. Rule, 'Industrial Disputes, Wage Bargaining and the Moral Economy' in A. Randall and A. Charlesworth (eds), *Moral Economy and Popular Protest: Crowds, Conflict and Authority* (Basingstoke, 2000), pp. 171-176.
[75] Tilly, *Popular Contention*, p. 97.
[76] E. Hobsbawm and J. Scott, 'Political Shoemakers', *Past and Present*, 89, 1980, pp. 86-87, 94-95.
[77] I. R. Christie, *Myth and Reality in Late-Eighteenth-Century British Politics and Other Papers* (London, 1970), p. 313.
[78] G. A. Cranfield, *The Development of the Provincial Newspaper, 1700-1760* (Oxford, 1962), pp. 17-18., A. Aspinall, *Politics and the Press, c. 1780-1850* (London, 1949), p. 16.
[79] J. Burnett, *A History of the Cost of Living* (London, 1969; 1993 Reprint), p. 156.
[80] J. Black, *The English Press, 1621-1861* (Stroud, Gloucs., 2001), p. 110.; J. Feather, 'The Power of Print: Word and Image in Eighteenth-Century England' in J. Black, (ed.), *Culture and Society in Britain, 1660-1800* (Manchester, 1997), p. 53.
[81] Cranfield, *Development of the Provincial Newspaper*, p. 13.; J. Black, *The English Press in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1987), p. 13.
[82] Cranfield, *Development of the Provincial Newspaper*, p. 56, 61.
[83] Christie, *Myth and Reality*, p. 327.; Aspinall, *Politics and the Press*, p. 126.; Feather, 'Word and Image in Eighteenth-Century England', p. 54. This was despite a fairly hefty 'advertisement duty', which was levied at the rate of 2s in 1776, rising to 2s 6d in 1780 and 3s in 1789. See Aspinall, *Politics and the Press*, p. 16.
[84] Cranfield, *Development of the Provincial Newspaper*, p. 97.
[85] *Bristol Gazette*, 24/12/1767.
[86] This information was gleaned from the masthead of the *Bristol Mercury* in several issues for 1792. Other papers had a similarly wide network of distribution.
[87] Black, *The English Press*, p. 113.
[88] Cranfield, *Development of the Provincial Newspaper*, p. 177.
[89] W. E. Winks, *Lives of Illustrious Shoemakers* (London, 1883), p. 104.
[90] C. Fowler, 'Changes in Provincial Retail Practice during the Eighteenth Century, with Particular Reference to Central-Southern England', *Business History*, Vol. 40, 4, October 1998, p. 39.
[91] All extant copies of these newspapers can be located in Bristol Reference Library, within Bristol's Central Lending Library.
[92] R. J. Morris, 'Property titles and the use of British urban poll books for social analysis', *Urban History Yearbook*, 1983, p. 29.
[93] J. E. Norton, *Guide to the National and Provincial Directories of England and Wales, excluding London, published before 1856* (London, 1950), pp. 1-2.
[94] *Ibid.*, p. 5.
[95] P. J. Corfield, '"Giving directions to the town": the early town directories', *Urban History Yearbook*, 1984, p. 28.
[96] *Ibid.*, p. 5, 8, 91.
[97] *Ibid.*, p. 6.
[98] *Ibid.*, p. 31.
[99] Norton, *National and Provincial Directories*, p. 16.
[100] *Ibid.*, p. 21.

PART ONE: PRODUCTION AND THE LABOUR FORCE

CHAPTER ONE: PRODUCTION AND MARKETING IN THE SHOEMAKING AND TAILORING TRADES OF BRISTOL, 1769-1800

This chapter assesses the ways in which shoes and clothes were produced and marketed in Bristol during the late eighteenth century, through an analysis of trade advertisements placed in the Bristol newspaper press. The chapter pursues two main lines of enquiry. Firstly, by examining the manner in which goods or services were marketed, it seeks to ascertain whether goods were produced ready-made or bespoke (made-to-order). Secondly, it assesses the commercial awareness of Bristol's shoemakers and tailors by examining the extent to which adverts referred to the fashionable nature of their goods, together with their knowledge of London practices. While the two trades shall be dealt with separately, comparisons and contrasts between the two will be used to help further the analysis.

SHOEMAKING

An investigation into whether Bristol's shoemakers produced ready-made footwear or made to order is well served by the number of advertisements placed by masters in the newspapers. Forty-seven have been collected for this study, accounting for thirty-five individual shoemakers or partnerships. They are listed in Table 1:1. This can be taken as a fairly representative sample of the city's shoemakers, given that a Bristol trade directory for 1775 listed 112 shoemakers, while a directory for 1794 listed 65 shoemakers.[1] The sample therefore encompasses between 31 per cent and 54 per cent of the city's master shoemakers. Thirteen of the adverts appeared in the 1770s, fourteen during the 1780s, and a slightly greater number of twenty during the 1790s. The tradesmen were categorised according to five overlapping criteria, representing the various ways they made, sold, and marketed their produce. While the evidence of twenty-six of the adverts points to masters dealing exclusively in ready-made footwear, thirteen adverts suggest bespoke making was combined in some cases with ready-made production. This means that of forty-seven adverts, thirty-nine contained evidence of producing ready-made shoes and boots. The remaining eight provide evidence of masters engaged only in bespoke work. Given that thirteen tradesmen appeared to be engaged in both types of work, this means that twenty-one masters in all were involved at least to a certain extent in bespoke work. This indicates that while bespoke production was far from negligible, ready-made production was the most significant factor in the Bristol trade. This appears to have been particularly the case during the 1790s, when nineteen of the twenty adverts dealt, at least in part, with ready-made products.

TABLE 1:1 : SHOEMAKERS' RETAIL ADVERTS, 1769-1800

Name of tradesman	Self-description of business	Ref./Date*	B	R	W	L	F
George Antrobus	Leather Clog and Patten-Maker	FFBJ 8/7/69	✓	✓	✓		
Ann & *William Tilladams*	Shoe-Maker	BJ 19/1/71		✓	✓		
Isaac Stephens	Shoe and Patten-Maker	BJ 13/7/71	✓	✓			
John Huish	Boot, Shoe, Clog, and Patten-Maker	Bgaz 5/3/72		✓	✓		
William Tilladam	Shoe-Maker	Bgaz 25/2/73	✓	✓	✓		
Robert Bryant	Cordwainer	BJ 26/3/74		✓	✓		
Morgan, Lawrence & Hill	Curriers, Shoemakers, Sadlers	FFBJ 20/4/76		✓	✓		
Jacob Naish	Boot, Shoe, Clog and Pattin-Maker	SFBJ 11/1/77		✓	✓		
Hicks, Sevier & Lane	Shoe-Makers	Bgaz 17/4/77		✓	✓		
Joel Stuckey	Shoe and Boot-Maker	Bgaz 9/10/77		✓	✓		
J.Davis and Co.	Shoe-Makers	SFBJ 2/5/78		✓	✓		
John Blacker	Heel-Maker	FFBJ 1/8/78		✓	✓		
Richard Roach	Shoe-Maker	SFBJ 21/11/78	✓				
John Morgan	Shoe and Saddle Warehouse	Bgaz 9/3/80		✓	✓		
Katherine Smith	Shoe-Maker	FFBJ 30/9/80		✓	✓		
Samuel Thompson	Shoe and Boot-Maker	FFBJ 7/10/80	✓				
George Millet	Shoe and Boot-Maker	Bgaz 19/10/80	✓				
John Edwards	Boot,Shoe,Clog and Patten-Maker	FFBJ 19/1/82		✓	✓		
John Sevier	Boot,Shoe,Clog and Patten-Maker	SFBJ 17/8/82	✓				
T. Millard	Shoe, Sadler's Ironmongers	FFBJ 24/5/83		✓	✓		
John Easterbrook	Shoe-Maker	SFBJ 14/7/87	✓			✓	
Joel Stuckey	Shoemaker, Sadler	Bgaz 3/1/88		✓	✓		
John Morgan	Sadler, Shoemaker	Bgaz 3/1/88		✓	✓		
Thomas Standfast	Shoemaker	Bgaz 10/1/88	✓				
William Tilladam	Boot and Shoemaker	SFBJ 12/1/88	✓				
William Tilladam	Boot and Shoemaker	SFBJ 21/6/88	✓	✓		✓	
Snow and New	Boot and Shoemakers	SFBJ 17/10/89	✓	✓		✓	
Snow and New	Boot and Shoemakers	Bmerc 1/3/90	✓	✓		✓	
John Webb	Boot and Shoe Warehouse	Bgaz 12/8/90		✓	✓		
Thomas Priske	Boot and Shoe-Maker	SFBJ 1/1/91	✓	✓			✓
John Parker	Boot and Shoe-Maker	Bmerc 25/7/91	✓	✓	✓		
Joel Stuckey	Shoemaker, Sadler	FFBJ 26/5/92		✓	✓		
William Tilladam	Shoe-Maker	FFBJ 29/9/92	✓				
T. Lawrence and Co.	Shoe and Saddle Warehouse	FFBJ 22/6/93		✓	✓		
Figgins and Co.	Shoe and Boot Warehouse	SFBJ 22/2/94		✓			
Figgins and Co.	Shoe and Boot Warehouse	SFBJ 26/4/94		✓	✓		
T. Kelly	Boot and Shoe Warehouse	FFBJ 28/2/95	✓	✓			
T. Wickett	Boot and Shoe-Maker	Bmerc 13/4/95		✓	✓		
Thomas Hanmer	Shoe and Boot Warehouse	Bmerc 6/7/95	✓	✓		✓	✓
Thomas Hanmer	Shoe and Boot Warehouse	Bmerc 22/2/96		✓	✓		✓
Kelly	Boot and Shoemaker	Bgaz 24/3/96	✓	✓		✓	✓
George King	Boot and Shoemaker	Bgaz 7/4/96	✓	✓		✓	✓
John Withers	Shoe and Boot-Maker	Bgaz 19/5/96		✓			✓
George King	Boot and Shoemaker	Bgaz 1/9/96		✓	✓	✓	✓
Richard Lindon	Boot and Shoe Manufacturer	FFBJ 6/7/99	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Masters and Co	Cheap Boot and Shoe Warehouse	Bgaz 1/8/99		✓	✓		
David Wall	Ladies Cheap and Fashionable Shoe Warehouse	FFBJ 22/11/1800		✓	✓		✓

B = Bespoke production
R = Ready-made production
W = Wholesalers
L = London influences
F = Fashions are marketed
Names in italics appear more than once.

* see footnotes for full references

The Ready-Made Sector

Analysis of the marketing language used in adverts clearly indicates the different methods of production. Thus, when the mother-and-son partnership of Ann and William Tilladams mentioned in 1771 that they supplied 'Merchants for Exportation' as well as 'Country Shopkeepers', a clear deduction can be made.[2] If products were to be purchased by merchants and shopkeepers for final customers who were as yet unknown then they must be ready-made. The Tilladams must therefore have been retailing a range of footwear in varying shapes and sizes, rather than measuring and fitting individual customers. The production of ready-made footwear was neither unique to Bristol nor to the eighteenth century. Thus, June Swann notes that 'measurements were standardised in 1305' and that the longevity of ready-made production is inherent in the knowledge that shoes were sold 'at the great medieval fairs'.[3] Nevertheless, the trade in ready-made footwear did grow during the eighteenth century. Evidence of this can be seen in the fact that shoe warehouses had become 'common by the 1780s'.[4] Between 1500 and 1700 there was a drift across Europe away from 'bespoke manufacture' and towards the production of 'ready made' goods. This was evident in England as elsewhere: in Northampton, for example, a 'ready-made shoe industry had emerged' by the late seventeenth century which produced a 'standard range of footwear' for the 'burgeoning London market'.[5] Nevertheless, the extent to which the trade in a particular locality was divided between the ready-made and bespoke sectors has not yet been fully established. The Bristol adverts certainly indicate that ready-made production was an important element of the trade. Adverts that offered footwear on wholesale terms or for the export market were synonymous with ready-made production. Thus, the ready-made nature of John Huish's trade in 1772 is evident in his ability to trade on both a 'Wholesale and Retail' basis, as well as in his informing the 'Merchants and Captains of Ships' that they could be 'supplied for Exportation'.[6] The ability to provide ready-made items was equally evident in Robert Bryant's pledge in 1774 to offer favourable terms to 'Shopkeepers who shall take a Quantity of the above Goods to sell again'.[7]

The wholesale aspect of the ready-made trade was also apparent in adverts posted by the partnership of Morgan, Lawrence, and Hill. In 1776 they targeted their goods to 'Merchants, Captains of Ships, Tradesmen, and Country Shopkeepers', and stressed to the 'Public' that their goods were as 'cheap as at any Manufactory in England'.[8] A similar clientele was sought by John Edwards in 1782 when he assured 'Merchants, Captains of Ships, and Country Shopkeepers' that they could be 'supplied on the shortest Notice'.[9] On occasions specific types of footwear were advertised. Thus, in 1783 T. Millard notified

potential buyers of his wish to sell a 'large Quantity of Womens' STUFF SHOES and PUMPS' for either 'Exportation or Home Consumption (*sic*)'.[10] During the 1790s a greater reference to warehouses became the norm in advertisements. Thus, T. Lawrence welcomed customers to his 'SHOE and SADDLE WAREHOUSE (*sic*)' in 1793 and welcomed them to an 'inspection of the goods'.[11] In 1794, adverts posted by Figgins and Company for their 'Shoe and Boot Warehouse' marked a new development in the marketing of ready-made footwear, as they boasted that 'Ladies may be supplied without having the Trouble of bespeaking their Shoes, and equally as good'.[12] This represented a new marketing strategy; no previous adverts had claimed that ready-made shoes were as good as those made to measure. However, this was probably no more than a marketing ploy, for the norm among ready-made adverts was to stress cheapness rather than quality. Thus, Masters and Company advertised in 1799 that 'a Very great variety' of shoes were 'always kept ready made', the clear selling point being that they were 'considerably cheaper than at any other Warehouse in this City'.[13]

The predominance of ready-made goods in the adverts can be explained by three factors; namely an increase in domestic demand, an expanding export market, and wartime demands for footwear. Firstly, domestic demand received a major boost from the growing national population. Between 1751 and 1801 England's population increased from 5.8 million to 8.7 million, an increase of 50 per cent. As a result, the domestic market increased in volume.[14] Given that all members of the community required the skills of the shoemaker, for as Hobsbawm and Scott argue shoes (unlike clothes) could not be made at home, then the growing demand arose from all sections of society.[15] Considering that many adverts earmarked goods for middlemen such as shopkeepers or merchants, it is entirely possible that Bristol's shoemakers supplied the national market. Indeed, the authors of two contemporary trade dictionaries commented on the sale in London of shoes made in provincial centres. In 1747, Campbell commented that London's 'Sale-Shops' were full of shoes provided by 'Country Shopkeepers'. According to Mortimer in 1819 London sold 'vast quantities of inferior kinds of shoes' from Scotland, Staffordshire and 'other parts of England'.[16] It is therefore possible that Bristol-made shoes were also entering this burgeoning market during these years. This impression is reinforced by an advert placed by a London shoe warehouse in the Bristol press in May 1776, requesting to be supplied with shoes by 'Master Shoemakers in Bristol'.[17] Demand for shoes within Bristol itself was far from negligible; after London, Bristol had the second highest urban population for most of the eighteenth century.[18] Thus, although Bristol's population growth, from 55,000 in 1770 to 60,000 in 1800, was not as dramatic as elsewhere in the

country during the late eighteenth century, the city nevertheless started from a high point.[19] There is, thus, no doubting the size of the Bristol market. An estimate of the annual consumption of shoes among Bristol's residents is possible from contemporary sources. According to John Rees, a Bristol master shoemaker, in 1813 the average Bristolian consumed 'four pairs of shoes in the year'.[20] On the basis of population figures, this suggests that Bristol's residents required 220,000 pairs of shoes in 1770 and 240,000 pairs per year by 1800. Although other evidence does not exist to substantiate Rees's claims, it is undeniable that the market for shoes among Bristol residents alone was a very large one.

Secondly, domestic demand was, of course, supplemented by Bristol's position as a major port. Not surprisingly then, many adverts referred to the second factor stimulating demand for ready-made goods, namely the export trade. According to contemporaries such as Mortimer, the export trade in footwear was a sizeable business, as 'considerable quantities' of British-made shoes were exported to Europe, Asia, Africa, the Americas, and the West Indies.[21] Bristol undoubtedly had a major stake in this trade. According to Hoppit, London and Bristol 'controlled the great majority of England's overseas trade' in the eighteenth century. And the trade dominance of Bristol increased during the eighteenth century as 'the colonial trade tended to shift to the western seaports'[22] Bristol's export trade reflected the diversity of its economy. Glass, copper, brass and woollen produce formed the mainstay of the city's exports, and the North American and West Indies were the most significant markets, claiming over one-third of exports in the early 1770s and over one-half in the late 1790s.[23] Shoes formed an important element of this trade and evidence of this can be seen in the contemporary newspaper sources. In the 1790s, for example, the shoemaking partnership of Bence and Lock featured among the lists of Bristol exporters. One recent study of shoemaking notes that 'large quantities of shoes' were exported to the Caribbean and North America 'from London and Bristol'. [24] In this respect parallels existed between Bristol and such French shoemaking centres as Marseille, Bordeaux and Nantes which likewise produced shoes for 'colonial as well as domestic markets'.[25]

Thirdly, given the ubiquitous need for footwear, shoemaking was among those trades best able to cope with the loss of export markets, due to wars, for example. Military conflict existed during half the period between 1770 and 1800 and both the American War of Independence (1775-83) and the Napoleonic War (1793-1802) seriously decimated export markets.[26] As a result of the former, the annual average of Atlantic shipping arriving in Bristol decreased from 21,202 tons in 1773-77 to 12,326 tons in 1778-80. By 1797, as a result of the war with France, the annual tonnage of shipping entering Bristol had

decreased by 38 per cent on its 1792 level.[27] Closure of export markets could normally be expected to seriously affect the need for ready-made producers to advertise their goods. However, qualitative evidence gleaned from the adverts suggests the opposite; businesses in the ready-made footwear sector if anything found trade more buoyant in wartime than during peacetime. Thus, of the forty-seven adverts re-covered, twenty-eight were placed during war years. The prominence of adverts for ready-made produce during the war years is telling for other reasons. Ten of the fourteen adverts during the American War were purely concerned with ready-made goods, while all fourteen adverts placed during the French Wars were concerned with ready-made goods, nine of them exclusively. This is not surprising given the following factors. Firstly, the American colonies were far from the only recipients of British goods. There was, for example, a 'swift rise' in goods exported to Canada after 1776, while trade with the West Indies had always claimed a larger share of Bristol goods than America.[28] Secondly, the shoemaking trade was insulated against the loss of some markets due to the fact that shoes were *actually* in sharp demand due to the war itself. Indeed James Farr has posited that the growth of 'standing armies' from the seventeenth century onwards provided a very real stimulus to the ready-made trade, with the result that 'boots were turned out of countless artisan shops across Europe'.[29] During the English Civil War, for example, one tradesman received orders from the Royalist army for 'seven thousand shoes'.[30] Giorgio Riello, likewise, believes that wartime orders stimulated 'the creation of a ready-to-wear market' since 'large quantities of shoes had to be produced in short times and in standardised ways', when the Navy purchased 'more than one million pairs of shoes' from four shoemaking concerns between '1760 and 1790'.[31]

Demand generated by the two wars brought into sharp focus the ready-made nature of the Bristol trade. In Bristol, civic subscriptions were collected in order to purchase shoes, among other items, for British soldiers. In January 1776, for example, *Felix Farley's Bristol Journal* mentioned that collections had been made for the 'relief of the British soldiers in America', and noted that 'three considerable tradesmen' had been given an order for 'a large number of shoes'.[32] In November 1793, collections for the relief of British soldiers in Flanders resulted in an order being placed for 'FIFTEEN HUNDRED PAIRS OF STRONG SHOES (*sic*)'. This time, one firm, Bence and Lock met the majority of the demand.[33] These examples emphasise how military orders compensated for the loss of export markets. However, perhaps the key litmus test of demand during the war years was the demand for labour. Available evidence suggests this was high. Thus, in September 1775, *Felix Farley's Bristol Journal* mentioned that there was 'a scarcity of journeymen

shoemakers in the men's ways in this city' and proceeded to acknowledge that 'good workmen are much wanted'.[34] Likewise, in June 1777 a committee of striking journeymen shoemakers admitted that 'Trade is very brisk and Men scarce'; a claim reinforced by their masters who placed a collective advertisement for 1,000 men.[35] The high demand for labour was reflected in other advertisements in the years 1776 and 1777. While the firm of Bence and Lock required 'any Number of Hands', Morgan, Lawrence and Hill posted adverts for one hundred journeymen, William Edwards and Company required fifty journeymen, and William Tilladams sought between twenty and thirty men.[36] A similar demand for labour existed among the larger London shoemaking concerns, which also advertised for labour in the Bristol press during these years.[37] Adverts for such large numbers of men do not appear in peacetime or non-strike years. Thus, they were not seen again until the 1790s. In April 1794, for example, Figgins and Company posted a notice that simply stated, 'ONE HUNDRED MEN WANTED IMMEDIATELY (*sic*)'.[38] Clearly, the demands of war stimulated the trade in the 1790s just as it had in the late 1770s. Both the nature of wartime demand, and the structures of the export market, reinforced the centrality of the ready-made sector within Bristol's shoemaking trade.

The Bespoke Sector

As we have seen, only eight of the twenty-one adverts relating to bespoke work *did not* also advertise ready-made goods. Bespoke work was marketed in a quite different way to the way in which the quantities and cheapness of ready-made goods were stressed. By contrast, the marketing of bespoke work entailed a language of personal service and the offering of a service, in place of goods. A Bath shoemaker named Thomas Haynes expressed the more individual manner in which the bespoke trade operated, advising customers who resided at some distance from the city to 'have them made by sending a boot or shoe that fits them'.[39] Again emphasising the personal nature of the service, many of Bristol's bespoke producers were seemingly willing to journey a fair distance to attend their clientele. In July 1769, for example, George Antrobus advised 'LADIES and GENTLEMEN (*sic*)' either 'in Town or Country' that they 'will be waited on'.[40] Likewise in 1796 George King advised his bespoke customers that they would be 'waited' on 'at their own houses'.[41] Such language typified the bespoke market, as one would not attend customers at their home if they were merely purchasing cheap, ready-made items that could be sent by carriage. This language reflected the provision of a personal service whereby the footwear was specially measured for the individual client, and for this reason bespoke adverts were devoid of product advertising. A typical example is provided by an advert placed by Richard Roach in November 1778. Upon moving premises, Roach merely

thanked his customers for their past 'Favours' and informed them that he intended 'carrying on the Business in all its different Branches' at his new place of business.[42] Repeated use of the word 'favour' was a hallmark of these bespoke shoemakers. In 1780, for example, Samuel Thompson thanked his customers 'for the many Favours conferr'd on him (*sic*)', while George Millet welcomed a 'continuance of their future Favours'; both men offered a *service* rather than specific goods for sale.[43]

It would appear that the bespoke market was an attractive proposition. Thus, William Tilladams's decision to enter this sector despite his previous concentration in the ready-made sector. In September 1792, an advert placed by Tilladams contained no references whatsoever to ready-made products. In language far removed from the advertising of ready-made goods, Tilladams thanked 'those Ladies and Gentlemen who have so distinguishingly honoured him with their favors (*sic*)', and affirmed that they 'shall be waited on at their own houses'.[44] The deferential tone of the language indicates that bespoke work was oriented towards a higher class of clientele than that of ready-made produce. John Easterbrook undoubtedly represented the top-end of the bespoke market when he offered his services on the basis of having 'given great Satisfaction to the first Nobility in London' as well as the 'Prince of Wales and Duke of York'.[45] However, despite this, the bespoke market should not be seen as homogenous. Thus, while Easterbrook represented the most exclusive end, T. Kelly typified the cheaper aspect of this sector. In February 1795, Kelly, who also operated a 'Cheap BOOT and SHOE Warehouse (*sic*)', offered a price list that merely charged an extra six pence for bespoke shoes. In a later advert he claimed that 'Ladies and Gentlemen's bespoke work' was served on 'the shortest notice'.[46] Kelly perhaps therefore represented a blurring of boundaries between the two sectors and possibly an attempt on the part of ready-made men to offer cheaper and faster bespoke options. In this endeavour, Kelly was far from alone. Thus, Thomas Hanmer, a predominantly ready-made producer, also advertised in the mid-1790s that he conducted bespoke work 'with exact neatness' and 'on the lowest terms'.[47] Therefore while convenience and cheapness were the primary marketing tools of ready-made produce, the bespoke sector encompassed the realms of exclusivity and quality. At the same time, however, there are signs that some ready-made producers also offered a cheaper bespoke option.

In this regard Bristol's shoemaking trade may have mirrored that of eighteenth-century London characterised by Rule, whereby the rich 'bespoke' part of the trade was defined largely by the ability 'to allow rich customers credit'.[48] Likewise, Riello asserts that in the

ready-made sector there was a 'different relationship between producer/retailer and customer' as only the 'bespoke customer was allowed consumer credit'.[49] Evidence gathered for this study suggests that it was not a wise business move for ready-made producers to offer credit. Thus, in 1795, for example T. Kelly stated that due to 'many Losses and Disappointments' suffered from offering credit terms, he would no longer sell footwear unless 'the money is paid on delivery of the goods'.[50] The majority of ready-made adverts ended with the words 'Ready Money only', such as those placed by Figgins and Company in 1794 and George King in 1796.[51] By contrast, the lack of reference to prices and absence of hostility to credit terms in adverts placed by exclusively bespoke producers, suggests again that these tradesmen were positioned at the most prosperous end of the trade. However, in the absence of other evidence, such as the account books of individual enterprises, such a conclusion must remain conjectural, and of a rather impressionistic nature.

London and the Role of Fashion

By 1800, whether one was a bespoke or ready-made producer, the marketing language deployed had come to encompass reference to London connections and/or fashionable goods. Until 1787 adverts were devoid of such references. Only thirteen adverts mentioned these factors (see Table 1:1) and the majority were confined to the 1790s. The 1790s therefore witnessed an apparently developing contrast to the 1770s and 1780s. During this decade, ten of the twenty adverts located contained references either to fashion or to London, or to both. Given that London was a centre of excellence for many trades it is hardly surprising that it should act as a benchmark. Mortimer explained that London was the place where the 'best men's shoes are manufactured', being known as 'town-made', while Rule has posited that London was a place where the 'large-scale manufacture of clothes and shoes was especially evident' in the eighteenth century.[52] However, London's position at the epicentre of shoe production long pre-dated 1787, the year in which the first reference to the capital was found in the Bristol adverts. Why then did master shoemakers not refer to London connections before this date? The answer may lie in the words of John Easterbrook, author of the 1787 advert. Easterbrook not only offered to provide 'Calf Skin and Cordovan Boots made after the London Plan (*sic*)', but mentioned that he had once served the 'first Nobility in London'.[53] This suggests that Easterbrook had perhaps fairly recently arrived from London, and his arrival and competition in itself may have galvanised Bristol's shoemakers. Local masters were no doubt aware of the more relaxed attitude of the Corporation to 'foreigners' since the last attempt to impose penalties for 'freeman' status on outsiders during the 1760s.[54] Although tradesmen from outside Bristol

had always entered the city, and paid the requisite sum to become freemen, the era of free and open competition was a relatively recent phenomenon in the late 1780s. Bristol shoemakers seem to have retaliated to this new source of competition by asserting the quality of their own goods and using London as a yardstick. In June 1788, for example, William Tilladams advertised that not only had he obtained 'London BOOT LEGS' and 'London BACK SOLES (*sic*)', but that he made ladies' shoes that were 'not inferior to any made in London'.[55] Likewise in late 1789 and early 1790 the partnership of Snow and New were 'determined to purchase the best London Legs and Soles', which were to be 'made and finished in a style not inferior to any in London'.[56] And, when George King's two adverts of 1796 assured clients that his 'Articles shall be as good as any in London' and 'made in the London taste' this reinforced the esteem for the materials and workmanship of the capital.[57] That such esteem was growing seems to be indicated by the fact that some tradesmen actually looked to capture a gap in the local market by emphasising their metropolitan knowledge. Thus Richard Lindon arrived in Bristol 'from London' in July 1799 with a clear business plan; to capture the local market in 'HESSIAN WRINKLED BOOTS (*sic*)'. In this respect, he noted that 'Gentlemen' had previously been at a loss to acquire them 'without sending to London'.[58] Growing reference to London from 1787 onwards may therefore have reflected the growing competitive threat that Bristol's shoemakers felt as a result both of the superior nature of London-made goods and by the arrival of some seemingly well-connected shoemakers from the capital itself.

Such developments should, however, not be seen in isolation from a wider growth in fashion consciousness. The marketing of fashion in Bristol advertisements did not come into vogue until the early 1790s. The first such reference arises in an advert placed by Thomas Priske in January 1791, when he mentioned that he sold 'Ladies most fashionable Fancy-Leather and Sandal'd Shoes'.[59] Thomas Hanmer placed a similar advertisement in July 1795 ; informing the public that he had just acquired a stock of 'fashionable fancy and striped LEATHERS (*sic*)'.[60] By the mid-1790s, marketing of fashions in footwear had extended to seasonal variations. In February 1796, for example, Hanmer stated that he would soon 'lay in some fashionable Articles for the Summer season (*sic*)'.[61] Kelly mirrored this development when he advertised a recently arrived stock of leather and 'boot legs' that were 'suitable for the Spring and Summer wear'.[62] The majority of references to fashion were far from detailed or sophisticated. Thus George King merely asserted that his 'Shoes (were) the most fashionable', while John Withers advertised that he had 'made up a genteel Assortment of FASHIONABLE GOODS (*sic*)'.[63] In July 1799 Richard Lindon was not slow to associate his London experiences with fashionable practices, advertising that

he provided an 'elegant Assortment of Fashionable Ladies' and Gentlemens' BOOTS and SHOES (*sic*)', and further reminding customers that he previously worked at a 'fashionable Boot Manufactory' on the 'Strand' in London.[64] The term 'fashionable' had clearly worked its way into the marketing idiom by the end of the century. In addition, by its very nature the existence in Bristol of the ladies' branch suggested that fashions were catered for. Swann posits that 'close contact with high society and fashion' were essential for this sector, and asserts that London and Bristol constituted two of the main centres of the trade in ladies' footwear.[65] This development further explains the growing use of fashion as a selling point by the 1790s. Thus, as these, and other, examples indicate the term 'fashionable' had clearly worked its way into marketing idiom by the end of the century.

TAILORS

In contrast to the shoemaking trade the division in tailoring was more disposed towards bespoke rather than ready-made production. This was because, as David Alexander has explained, 'tailoring was primarily a bespoke trade' as ready-made clothes were primarily made 'in slack periods for "off the rack" sales'.[66] While a trade in ready-made clothes was not unimportant to the trade in Bristol, marketing of the tailor's bespoke skills was the primary function of advertising. This entailed detailing a different range of categories, since bespoke produce was intrinsic to tailoring itself, while the sale of ready-made clothes was for most tradesmen a sideline. A discussion of the adverts can help enlighten this matter.

Table 1:2 illustrates how the advertisements detailed the manner in which tailors produced, marketed and retailed their goods. Forty-three adverts were recovered, representing thirty-five separate individual tradesmen and partnerships in all. This can be taken as a good sized sample of the city's tailors, given that a Bristol trade directory for 1775 listed 101 tailors, while a directory for 1794 listed 86 tailors.[67] The sample therefore represents between 35 and 40 per cent of Bristol's tailoring establishments in this period. Nineteen of the newspaper insertions arise from the 1770s, while the 1780s and 1790s are represented by twelve each. The adverts themselves represent a valuable source of evidence. McKendrick's study of consumerism in this period has confirmed that 'trade cards backed up by newspaper advertisements' were 'an important part of the shopkeepers' promotional efforts', and that they were linked to the growth of the market since trade cards hardly existed 'before the eighteenth century'.[68] In a growing market advertisements and 'trade cards allowed the shopkeeper to advertise the quality of his shop as well as his goods'.[69]

With regards to production methods the adverts have been categorised by three overlapping criteria. Firstly, those that advertised their business through a personal language of service, as seen in the more exclusive adverts for bespoke shoemakers. Secondly, those that advertised the particular items they were able to make, usually accompanied by a price list. Thirdly, there were those who either made or retailed second-hand clothes in addition to the normal tailoring service. The overlap between adverts offering a service and those offering products was not that great. Out of forty-three adverts, these two criteria claimed seventeen each, and only the remaining nine adverts offered both facilities. A clearer correlation occurred between product marketing and ready-made adverts; out of fourteen adverts offering ready-made clothes only one did not also market products. In common with the shoemaking trade, the adverts indicate a growth in the ready-made trade by the 1790s. While the adverts from the 1770s had been split equally between service and product marketing, eight of the twelve adverts from the 1790s dealt exclusively with product marketing and ready-made clothes.

The Bespoke Service

In common with bespoke adverts in the shoemaking trade, numerous Bristol tailors also employed a language of personal service in order to court the custom of the more distinguished ranks of society. In March 1769, for example, Robert Norton thanked those 'Gentlemen and Ladies who have already employ'd him (*sic*)', and assured those in 'Town or Country' who 'may indulge him with their Orders' that they should be 'executed in the compleatest Manner (*sic*)'.[70] This language bore the hallmarks of appeal to a higher-class clientele. Thus, it was deferential in tone and focused on providing satisfaction rather than on cheapness or value for money. In November 1771, John Thomas likewise employed deferential language when he addressed 'those Gentlemen and Ladies that shall please to Favour him with their Commands', while in May 1773 William Merryman looked to those who 'please to favour him with their Commands' for his future custom.[71] Fortunatus Hagley employed similar language in February 1776 when hoping to 'merit the Favours' of 'Gentlemen and Ladies' and made it his 'constant study to execute their Orders with Neatness and Punctuality'.[72] What can be termed an advertising idiom in this sector was further reinforced by Robert Bayly who thanked his customers for 'their past Favours', and assured them that in future business 'will be duly attended to' and 'gratefully acknowledged'.[73] Such language was often used when a change in circumstances such as an accident or move of premises required tradesmen to notify their existing clientele. In October 1789, for instance, Henry Nevill asked his customers to excuse him for not 'personally waiting on his friends' due to a broken leg; again reflecting the degree of

TABLE 1:2 : TAILORS' RETAIL ADVERTS, 1769-1800

Name of tradesman	Self-description of business	Ref./Date*	S	P	R	L	F
James Smith	Taylor and Habit-Maker	FFBJ 7/1/69	✓	✓		✓	✓
G. Croom	Taylor and Habit-Maker	BJ 11/2/69		✓			
Robert Norton	Taylor and Stay-Maker	BJ 11/3/69	✓			✓	
John Totterdell	Woollen-Draper and Taylor	BJ 7/7/70	✓				
G. Croom	Taylor and Stay-Maker	BJ 4/8/70		✓			
Robert Norton	Woollen-Draper, Taylor and Stay-Maker	Bgaz 11/4/71		✓			
James Gerrish	Taylor, Woollen-Draper, Hosier	Bgaz 1/8/71		✓			
John Thomas	Taylor and Habit-Maker	Bgaz 14/11/71	✓			✓	✓
Robert Norton	Draper, Taylor and Stay-Maker	Bgaz 4/3/73	✓	✓		✓	✓
William Merryman	Taylor and Habit-Maker	BJ 1/5/73	✓			✓	
Isaac Amos	Taylor	Bgaz 3/3/74	✓				✓
F. Lloyd	Taylor and Habit-Maker	FFBJ 7/5/74	✓	✓			
Edward Evans	Taylor and Habit-Maker	FFBJ 14/5/74		✓			✓
James Gerrish	Woollen-Draper, Taylor, Hosier, Habit-Maker	Bgaz 26/5/74		✓			
Robert Haynes & George McCarthy	Woollen-Drapers, Taylors, Habit-Makers, Salesmen	Bgaz 2/6/74		✓	✓		
Samuel Willy	Taylor	Bgaz 9/2/75	✓	✓	✓		✓
Robert Bayly	Woollen-Draper, Taylor, Salesman	BJ 23/9/75	✓		✓		
Fortunatus Hagley	Taylor and Habit-Maker	FFBJ 10/2/76	✓				
Case	Taylor and Habit-Maker	FFBJ 30/10/79	✓	✓		✓	
Henry Richards	Taylor and Habit-Maker	Bgaz 30/3/80	✓			✓	
William Dukes	Stay-Maker and Taylor	FFBJ 3/6/80	✓				
James Davis	Taylor and Habit-Maker	FFBJ 21/4/81	✓				✓
George Hamilton	Taylor and Habit-Maker	FFBJ 16/8/83		✓	✓	✓	✓
John Neter	Taylor and Habit-Maker	SFBJ 10/9/85	✓	✓			
William Trotman	Taylor, Habit-Maker, Woollen-Draper	SFBJ 14/4/87	✓	✓			
George Cole	Taylor, Habit-Maker	SFBJ 12/5/87		✓	✓	✓	✓
John Browne	Taylor, Stay-Maker and Habit-Maker	FFBJ 15/9/87	✓				✓
William Hunt	Taylor, Draper, Salesman	Bgaz 7/2/88	✓	✓	✓		
John Biss and Son	Taylors and Habit-Makers	FFBJ 7/6/88	✓			✓	
William Palmer	Taylor and Habit-Maker	Bgaz 25/9/88	✓				
Henry Nevill	Taylor and Habit-Maker	FFBJ 10/10/89	✓				
Peregrine Phillips	Taylor and Habit-Maker	Bgaz 25/2/90	✓				
William Budd	Taylor and Fancy-Dress Maker	SFBJ 26/6/90	✓			✓	
Robert Tripp		Bmerc 27/9/90		✓	✓		
George Withy & Son	Taylors, Habit-Makers	SFBJ 20/11/90		✓	✓		✓
Andrew Foley	Taylor & Salesman	Bmerc 31/1/91		✓	✓		
Robert Tripp	Draper, Men's mercer, Tailor, Habit-Maker, Salesman	Bgaz 5/9/93	✓	✓	✓		✓
Robert Tripp	Taylor & Salesman	Bgaz 24/3/96		✓	✓		
Moran, Burnell and Morgan	Taylors and Habit-Makers	FFBJ 2/4/96		✓			
Davis	Ladies' Habit-Maker and Taylor	FFBJ 1/10/96	✓				
Robert Tripp	Army Taylor	FFBJ 22/7/97		✓	✓		
Biss and Norton	Tailors, Habit-Makers, Woollen-Drapers, Salesmen	Bgaz 18/4/99		✓	✓	✓	✓
Robert Tripp	Draper, Men's mercer, Regimental Taylor	FFBJ 22/11/1800		✓	✓		✓

S = Language of Personal Service
P = Marketing of products
R = Ready-made clothes
L = London influences
F = Fashions are marketed
* see footnotes for full references
Names in italics appear more than once

personal service provided by at least some bespoke masters.[74] In October 1796 when Davis moved premises he was keen to retain his customer base as he wrote that he 'humbly requests a continuance of those Favors he has already been honoured with'.[75] These adverts made use of a deferential marketing idiom, and were thus clearly intended for a more select audience of higher-class customers.

However, a more competitive side to tailoring was also in evidence among tradesmen who offered cheaper variations on bespoke production. An important figure in this development was George Croom. In February 1769, for example, Croom offered a much lower rate if the customer were to bring their own materials. While a plain suit normally cost five pounds and three shillings, the charge was only ten shillings for 'the Making only' on the basis that 'the Customer (is) to find Cloth and Materials'.[76] In effect the customer was only left to pay for labour costs, which in this instance represented around ten per cent (9.7%) of total cost. Among the other items that Croom offered to prepare at 'Making only' rates were a 'Ladies Jean Dress', a 'Livery Coat, Waistcoat & Shag Breeches', and 'Cloth Great-Coats and Surtouts (*sic*)'.[77] Croom was clearly attempting to market a cheaper way of obtaining clothes, which though reinforced by his claim to operate 'on the lowest Terms', does not appear to have been endorsed by the official face of tailoring in Bristol.[78] Indeed Croom's reputation as a cheap producer earned him the wrath of Bristol's 'Company of Taylors'. In August 1770 he reported that the latter were 'offended at his advertising for Business on moderate Terms' and had launched what he described as a 'malicious Prosecution' against him for not being a member of the Company.[79] Croom claimed that he could not afford the thirty-pound 'fine' for membership, as 'it would render him unable to conform to the above Prices', and simply moved from Old-Market into St. Philips where the company had no jurisdiction.[80] While it would appear that the official face of Bristol tailoring in Bristol were hostile with regards to Croom's cheaper alternatives to bespoke trading, Croom was not the only tradesman to offer this facility. Thus, James Smith also offered a charge for 'making only' on several items. While a plain frock suit with gold buttons cost five pounds this was reduced to eight and a half shillings for the 'making only', meaning that the labour costs of the original item represented 8.5 per cent of the cost.[81] Likewise, in May 1774, F. Lloyd advertised that the 'making only' of a 'plain Suit' cost just ten shillings compared to the usual charge of one pound and ten shillings.[82] Edward Evans also provided this option as a 'drest Suit' cost four pounds and ten shillings, yet only ten shillings for the making. Therefore 11 per cent of this item consisted of labour costs, and Evans also invited customers 'to find their own

Trimmings'.[83] In October 1779 Case offered a price of four pounds and eleven shillings for a plain frock suit, which was discounted to eleven shillings for the 'making only', representing only 12 per cent of the original cost.[84] In April 1796 Moran, Burnell, and Morgan also advertised that items could be made at 'very reduced prices' were the 'Ladies and Gentlemen…to find their own cloth and Materials'.[85] This kind of facility was undoubtedly offered due to the fact that materials represented the lion's share of clothing costs. Many potential customers, moreover, would have had access to material because, as Fine and Leopold establish, fabrics were the 'consumer durable' of the period, and clothes were often 'passed down from one generation to the next'.[86] Therefore an element among the tailoring trade, in common with developments in shoemaking, offered a cheaper variety of bespoke work.

Ready-Made Clothes

Of course, ready-made clothes represented an even cheaper option. According to John Styles, by the 1740s 'civilian ready-made clothes for men' in London were based on a 'numerical sizing system', which had become 'general public knowledge' by the 1780s.[87] Indeed Johnson's dictionary of 1755 defined a 'Salesman' as 'One who sells cloaths ready made'.[88] Among the tradesmen represented in Table 1:2, six partly described themselves as 'Salesmen'. Typical of such adverts was that posted by the partnership of Robert Haynes and George McCarthy in June 1774. The insertion mentioned that they 'make and sell all Sorts of CLOATHS (*sic*)', implying a separation of the production and vending process, and further mentioned that 'All Sorts of Cloathing and Bedding for Seamen (*sic*)' was supplied to 'Merchants and Masters of Ships' on the 'most reasonable Terms'.[89] This indicates that Haynes and McCarthy had fairly large stocks of ready-made produce ready to be bought up wholesale, revealing a similar process to that which existed in the shoemaking trade. In May 1787, George Cole thanked his customers for doing business with him in his 'ready-made Cloaths Line (*sic*)', though the quality of such produce was clearly a live issue. Cole thus reacted to 'Complaints of Goods ripping' which he stated had been 'often made', and he resolved to 'make up every Article under his own Inspection', promising that his goods would be as good as 'though bespoke'.[90] This too bore the hallmarks of marketing in the ready-made shoe industry in the latter eighteenth century.

According to Styles, the whole *raison d'etre* of the 'ready-made clothes-seller was to provide a garment that looked and wore like a piece of bespoke clothing'.[91] This was part of a trend in 'early modern manufactures' to produce 'cheap products that copied

expensive objects' and 'ready-made clothing represents one example of this practice'.[92] Other examples of such processes also exist in the Bristol adverts. Thus, George Withy and Son mirrored developments in shoemaking when they advertised their 'CLOATHS WAREHOUSE (*sic*)' in November 1790. They listed a 'Stock' of various coats, waistcoats, and breeches, and noted that there was a 'Good allowance to Wholesale Dealers who buy to sell again', thereby providing further evidence of the development of ready-made production of clothes in Bristol.[93] No tradesman represented this aspect of the trade better than Robert Tripp who retailed items such as coats, waistcoats, and breeches at what he deemed 'his usual extreme low Charges'.[94] His business most closely resembled those shoemakers who catered for the overseas market, as he remarked that he served the 'Navy, Merchants, Captains, Shopkeepers' either for 'wholesale, retail, and for exportation'. The price-list of 'READY-MADE CLOTHES (*sic*)' included a coat, waistcoat, breeches, stockings, shirts, as well as hat and shoes.[95] Such developments must be seen in the context of the demand for European exports in North America, and indicate that it was not just shoemakers who benefited from the export trade.

By the latter eighteenth century Bristol shipping exports included many references to 'Wearing Apparel' being sent to Newfoundland, Quebec, Ireland, South Carolina, Grenada, and Barbados.[96] Despite this, very little mention was made in tailors' adverts of supplying exports, in comparison to shoemaking. Some tailors, like shoemakers, did clearly benefit, however, from supplying the armed forces, especially during periods of war. Tripp, in particular, described himself as an 'Army Taylor' in July 1797, and mentioned that he had clothed 'all his Majesty's Regiments of Regulars and Militia' which had passed through Bristol in the previous four years.[97] Thus, it seems clear that it was not only shoemakers who could make money from the demands of the wartime market. This was certainly also the case elsewhere. Sonenscher notes, for example, that the 'size and vitality' of the Parisian tailoring trade in the eighteenth century was 'derived from military and naval commissions and the large amount of ancillary and sub-contracted work that they generated'.[98] Tradesmen such as Tripp represented the Bristol equivalent of this development; in November 1800 he advertised that 'the Army and Navy are supplied at this Warehouse with all kinds of Cloathing' and other supplies.[99] Biss and Norton also catered for the military and foreign markets; they made 'Military and Naval Uniforms' as well as serving 'West India and other foreign Orders'.[100] They also retailed ready-made goods, selling waistcoats, pantaloons, and other items on 'moderate terms' and invited 'an early inspection of the above'.[101] Obviously, one could hardly claim the latter unless one has a stock of ready-made items for retail. All this suggests, then, that the development of

standing armies and the experience of war had an equally important impact on ready-made clothes production as on shoemaking. Thus, Hoppit notes that wars 'were a godsend to those who supplied the combatants' with items such as clothing, ammunition, food and drink.[102] According to Farr, the genesis of the ready-made trade in clothes occurred, as it had in shoemaking, in the two centuries between 1500 and 1700. Demand was similarly fed by a 'burgeoning London market', and crucially by the need to clothe 'standing armies' from the seventeenth century onwards.[103] Thus, in 1642 one London tradesman received orders from the Royalist army for 'nine thousand coats and shirts'; an example that attests to the longevity of ready-made production.[104] Similarly, Lemire attributes the 'first large-scale production of common, ready-made apparel' to the orders given to merchants by the demand to clothe sailors in the navy.[105]

However, several factors suggest that wars and export markets were less important aspects of the tailoring business in Bristol. Firstly, very few tailoring adverts refer to export markets, unlike their shoemaking counterparts. Secondly, bespoke production was clearly the most important aspect of the trade, with the selling of ready-made clothes seen as a sideline. In February 1775, for example, Samuel Willy was keen to advertise his trade in 'ready-made and second-hand Cloaths of all Sorts (*sic*)', but also eager to remind readers that he 'likewise makes Clothes for Gentlemen'.[106] In February 1788, William Hunt was likewise keen to correct a 'mistake' in 'the minds of some' that he was unable 'to make Gentlemen's Cloaths on account of his keeping a sale shop (*sic*)'.[107] Hunt hoped to regain credibility by stating that he had 'served a regular apprenticeship with an approved master in the tayloring business before he entered into the sale trade (*sic*)'.[108] This advert, in particular, draws attention to the greater prestige in which bespoke work was held, as well, no doubt, as its greater profitability to the tradesman. Indeed, this is reinforced by the descriptions of tailors in the two trade directories of 1775 and 1794. In 1775 only seven out of 101 tailors were listed as 'salesmen', while the remaining 94 were listed as 'tailors'. Meanwhile, in 1794, only 4 out of 86 tailors were listed as 'salesmen', while a further 3 were listed jointly as 'salesmen and tailors', and the remaining 79 were listed purely as 'tailors'.[109] All this suggests that export markets and the ready-made trade were not as important factors in Bristol tailoring compared to the city's shoemaking industry. By comparison, the evidence suggests that the influence of fashion and of London practices were far more important to tailors than shoemakers.

London and the Role of Fashion

The marketing of London connections or fashion was found in twenty of the forty-three adverts, representing just half of the sample. Styles attributes London's standing as the epicentre of tailoring to 'the concentration of such a large population of consumers in a relatively small area', and argues that these allowed for 'intense specialization in the manufacturing process and for product differentiation'.[110] The importance of London is illustrated by the manner in which tailors were apt to boast of any connection with the capital. When James Smith advertised in 1769, for instance, that he was 'From LONDON and PARIS', this was no doubt intended to reassure potential customers that he had learned his trade in two of the most important centres of tailoring in Europe.[111] This set the tone for the whole period; tailors sought to either advertise previous experience of the London trade itself or to market the fact that they were copying the best London practice. In March 1769, for example, Robert Norton reported that he had 'just returned from LONDON with the latest Improvements'. Likewise John Thomas also testified to the superiority of London craftsmanship in November 1771 when he informed prospective customers that his finished work will be 'in as neat a Manner as in London'.[112] Such claims were no doubt intended to reassure higher-class customers that good quality tailoring could be obtained in Bristol as well as London. They also indicate that some well-heeled residents of Bristol may have sent to London for items to be made, and so provided direct competition to the Bristol tradesmen. Perhaps responding to such customer preferences, Case assured his prospective clients in October 1779 that the clothes he produced were made 'with as good an Air as in London and as well made up', tailors were quick to stress a direct link with the capital.[113] In May 1773, William Merryman not only promised to provide work 'in as complete a Manner as in London', but he even advertised that he was 'From LONDON'.[114] In March 1780, Henry Richards remarked that he had practised the trade in 'London for three Years past'. George Hamilton also advertised in August 1783 that he was 'from London'.[115] In June 1788 John Biss junior advertised that his recent time had been well spent, as he informed potential customers that he had 'embraced the opportunity of improvement in LONDON for two years past'.[116] William Budd also used his past experience in order to attract custom. In June 1790, an advertisement mentioned that he had been a foreman in 'several of the most eminent Shops in London' and could therefore provide 'entire Satisfaction to his kind Employers' as 'neither Workmanship or Materials are to be excell'd (*sic*)'.[117] These kinds of insertions suggest that the Bristol market for clothes was vibrant in this period, and the city's large population at this time must undoubtedly provided demand for the city's tailors just as it had for its shoemakers. After

all, tailors would not have relocated to Bristol from London, nor Bristol-based tailors travelled to London to increase their aptitude, unless there was a keen market for clothes of a high quality in Bristol.

The extent to which Bristol's tailors sought to market their goods and services in terms of fashion needs to be set within the broader context of change in the clothing trade in this period. The eighteenth century witnessed a growth in fashion consciousness among wide sections of the populace for the first time. Braudel asserts that, before the early modern period, 'the general rule was changelessness' in the appearance of clothes.[118] The extent to which access to fashionable clothing was available to all sections of society is a controversial one. McKendrick argues that, by 1772, the 'lower orders' of London were as 'equally immersed in their fashionable vices' as their social superiors, a trend which soon spread to domestic servants, 'industrial workers' and 'agricultural workers' in that order. This interpretation has however not gone unchallenged by other historians.[119] Fine and Leopold, for instance, argue that the earnings of domestic servants and other members of the labouring population rendered them unable to purchase quality clothes in the style of the middle-classes, with the result that these social groups were often reliant on clothes being handed down.[120] Indeed the poor in general were more reliant on the trade in second-hand clothing. This trade was a 'common feature of English life' and one which allowed those earning between fifteen and fifty pounds a year to 'dress in clothes that bespoke a higher station'.[121] The fact that the market for tailors' wares was more restricted than that of the shoemaker, explains why the adverts of Bristol's tailors were more likely to stress the bespoke and quality nature of their service. Given their concentration at this end of the market, one would expect Bristol's tailors to stress the fashionable nature of their produce. Their emphasis upon fashion in their adverts as Lemire outlines was part of the slow transmission of fashions to the provinces in the early eighteenth century, a process which was itself accelerated by the growth of provincial newspapers whose 'advertisements brought news of goods'.[122]

For all these reasons, then, it is perhaps not surprising that the term 'fashion' entered the marketing idiom of tailors much earlier than among shoemakers. As early as the first years of the 1770s, for example, both John Thomas and Isaac Amos were claiming to provide clothes in 'the most fashionable Manner', while Edward Evans stated he provided clothes in 'the most compleat and fashionable Manner (*sic*)'.[123] Samuel Willy likewise alluded to fashion when he mentioned that the gentlemen's clothes he made were made 'after the newest taste', a claim not made for his ready-made goods.[124] In the 1780s, while James

Davis made clothes 'in the newest Fashion', George Hamilton provided them in 'the newest and most fashionable Manner'.[125] George Cole made clear that fashions were seasonal and also marketed for the ready-made market. He advertised that he had 'laid in a compleat and fashionable Assortment (*sic*)' of items for the 'Spring, Summer, and Autumn Trade'.[126] In the 1790s, George Withy and Son advertised that goods in their warehouse were 'well adapted to the present Season', while Tripp hoped his goods would be 'approved to the prevailing taste'.[127] The links between fashion and London were undeniable; thus, Robert Norton advertised that the stays he sold were provided in 'every Variation of Fashion as early as in London'.[128] In 1799, Biss and Norton were able to report that they had 'lately spent some time in London for the purpose of gaining a thorough knowledge of the newest Fashion in the Make of Gentlemen's Clothes and Ladies' Riding-Habits (*sic*)'.[129] When Tripp boasted that his business could not be 'excelled in point of elegance, fashion &c' he gave an insight into the clientele that this attracted. For the 'proof' of his claim lay in the custom he had received from 'the first Nobility and Gentlemen's Families'; a claim which illustrates the importance of the custom of the well-heeled to Bristol's tailors.[130] However, the above insertions did not elaborate on exactly what constituted fashionable clothing, or why they were fashionable. There are two main reasons for this. Firstly, clothing was a 'consumer durable' in this period and it was 'trimmings' such as buckles, ribbons, and lace that 'facilitated the necessary differentiation in fashion' rather than the clothes themselves.[131] This was also the case in eighteenth-century France, as 'taffetas, muslins and bobbin lace' were fashionable in the summer with 'satin, velvet and needle lace' worn in the winter.[132] The fact that it was the embellishments to clothing that mattered most with regard to fashionable status, rather than any inherent skill in the tailoring process, accounts for the lack of further elaboration. Secondly, the vague nature of references to fashion in the Bristol adverts tends to reinforce McKendrick's point that 'most of the commercial benefit of fashion was felt to accrue to London' during the eighteenth century, whereas the provinces took longer 'to adopt the fashions of London'.[133] Though Bristol may have been the most important provincial city, and therefore market, for much of the eighteenth century its tailors could therefore not be expected, despite their repeated claims in their adverts, to possess the knowledge and expertise of their counterparts in the capital.

Conclusion

It is clear that ready-made production was of most importance to the shoemaking trade, while bespoke production was the primary *raision d'etre* of tailoring. Such factors can explain why export-led demand and the demands of the war years stimulate the

shoemaking trade to a much greater extent than the tailoring trade. However, during the 1790s, the advertising space taken by both trades was nevertheless increasingly dominated by ready-made goods, no doubt due both to the wartime demands of the military and navy and to growing markets both locally and nationally. While both trades were keen to emulate the standards of London, the marketing of fashionable items, not surprisingly, was far more prevalent in the tailoring trade than shoemaking. With these main factors influencing production and marketing in mind, it is possible now to move on to consider their impact upon the *organisation* of production, both in terms of the division of labour in each trade and the structure of the workforce in each trade.

ENDNOTES

[1] *Sketchley's Bristol Directory 1775* (Bristol, 1775; 1971 reprint); *Mathews's Bristol guide and directory* (Bristol, 1794).
[2] *Bristol Journal* (hereafter B.J), 19/1/1771.
[3] J. Swann, *Shoemaking* (Princes Risborough, Bucks., 1986), p. 5.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 9.
[5] J. R. Farr, *Artisans in Europe, 1300-1914* (Cambridge, 2000), p. 56.
[6] *Bristol Gazette* (hereafter Bgaz), 5/3/1772.
[7] BJ, 26/3/1774.
[8] *Felix Farley's Bristol Journal* (hereafter FFBJ), 20/4/1776.
[9] FFBJ 19/1/1782.
[10] FFBJ 24/5/1783.
[11] FFBJ 22/6/1793.
[12] *Sarah Farley's Bristol Journal* (hereafter SFBJ), 22/2/1794.
[13] Bgaz 1/8/1799, 5/9/1799.
[14] M. Falkus, *Britain Transformed: An Economic and Social History, 1700-1914* (Ormskirk, Lancs., 1987), p. 16.
[15] E. Hobsbawm and J. Scott, 'Political Shoemakers', *Past and Present*, 89, 1980, p. 103.
[16] R. Campbell, *The London Tradesman* (London, 1747; 1969 Reprint), p. 219.; T. Mortimer, *A General Commercial Dictionary* (London, 1819), p. 913.
[17] BJ, 11/5/1776.
[18] W. Minchinton, 'The Port of Bristol in the Eighteenth Century' in P. McGrath (ed.), *Bristol in the 18th Century* (Bristol, 1972), p. 128.; P. T. Marcy, 'Eighteenth Century views of Bristol and Bristolians' in P. McGrath (ed.), *Bristol in the 18th Century* (Bristol, 1972), p. 18. According to Marcy Bristol attained this lofty position with a figure of 20,000 in 1700 and relinquished it in 1801 with a population of 64,000.
[19] E. Baigent, 'Economy and society in eighteenth-century English towns: Bristol in the 1770s' in D. Denecke and G. Shaw (eds), *Urban Historical Geography: Recent Progress in Britain and Germany* (Cambridge, 1988), p. 110.; K. Morgan, 'The Economic Development of Bristol, 1700-1850', in M. Dresser and P. Ollerenshaw, (eds), *The Making of Modern Bristol* (Tiverton, 1996), p. 49.
[20] J. F. Rees, *The Art and Mystery of a Cordwainer; or An Essay on the Principles and Practice of Boot and Shoe-Making* (London, 1813), Preface, p. x.
[21] Mortimer, *A General Commercial Dictionary*, p. 913.
[22] I. J. Prothero, *Artisans and Politics in Early Nineteenth-Century London: John Gast and his Times* (1979, Folkestone), p. 22; J. Hoppit, *Risk and Failure in English Business, 1700-1800* (Cambridge, 1987), pp. 149-150.
[23] K. Morgan, *Bristol and the Atlantic Trade in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1993), p. 89, 96-97, 103. While the North American and West Indies trade had only consumed 11% of Bristol exports in 1700, this increased to 38% in 1772/73, and 57% in 1797/98.
[24] Morgan, *Bristol and the Atlantic Trade*, p. 95.; G. Riello, 'From consumption towards production: the case of the boot and shoe trade in pre-industrial England', New Researchers Session, Economic History Society Conference Programme, 2001, p. 92.
[25] M. Sonenscher, *Work and Wages: Natural Law, Politics, and the Eighteenth-Century French Trades* (Cambridge, 1989), p. 114, 277.
[26] Hoppit, *Risk and Failure*, p. 122.
[27] Morgan, *Bristol and the Atlantic Trade*, p. 25, 29.
[28] Morgan, *Atlantic trade*, p. 93, 22. The Caribbean as a whole claimed between 33% and 50% of Bristol's exports in the late eighteenth century.
[29] Farr, *Artisans*, p. 56.
[30] B. Lemire, *Dress, Culture and Commerce: The English Clothing Trade before the Factory, 1660-1800* (London, 1997), p. 11.
[31] Riello, 'From consumption towards production', p. 92.
[32] FFBJ 20/1/1776.
[33] SFBJ 23/11/1793, 30/11/1793; FFBJ 30/11/1793. This firm was used to large contracts as St. Peter's Hospital, a Bristol workhouse, had purchased over one hundred pairs of shoes from them in 1787. See FFBJ 17/3/1787. Bristol was not unique in this endeavour as over three thousand shoes were sent from Worcester, while in nearby Bath a 'party of Ladies' undertook a subscription to supply each member of the 900-strong Somerset Militia with a pair of shoes. See Bgaz 9/1/1794, 27/3/1794; FFBJ 1/2/1794; *Bristol Mercury* (hereafter Bmerc), 3/2/1794.
[34] FFBJ 9/9/1775.
[35] *Bonner and Middleton's Bristol Journal* (hereafter BMBJ) 14/6/1777; Bgaz 12/6/1777. The strike itself is dealt with fully in Chapter 5.
[36] FFBJ 12/10/1776, 30/11/1776; Bgaz 24/4/1777; BMBJ 20/9/1777.
[37] One firm reported that they required 'Some Hundreds' of journeymen, presumably to meet orders and the high demand. See BJ 11/5/1776. The same employer again called for 'some Hundreds' of shoemakers a year

later. See FFBJ 19/7/1777. The London news reported that 'three hundred Journeymen Shoemakers' had arrived in the capital to work on contracts to 'furnish the army in America' with shoes, suggesting that London was the major beneficiary of war-time demand. See Bgaz 6/6/1776.
[38] SFBJ 26/4/1794.
[39] *Bath Chronicle* 5/11/1792.
[40] FFBJ 8/7/1769.
[41] Bgaz 7/4/1796, 1/9/1796.
[42] SFBJ 21/11/1778.
[43] FFBJ 7/10/1780, 19/10/1780.
[44] FFBJ 29/9/1792.
[45] SFBJ 14/7/1787.
[46] FFBJ 28/2/1795; Bgaz 24/3/1796.
[47] Bmerc 6/7/1795, 22/2/1796.
[48] J. Rule, *The Experience of Labour in Eighteenth-Century Industry* (London, 1981), pp. 33-34.
[49] Riello, 'From consumption towards production', p. 93.
[50] FFBJ 28/2/1795.
[51] SFBJ 22/2/1794; Bgaz 7/4/1796, 1/9/1796. These examples were representative of the majority of ready-made adverts.
[52] Mortimer, *A General Commercial Dictionary*, p. 913; Rule, *Experience of Labour*, p. 28.
[53] SFBJ 14/7/1787.
[54] J. Latimer, *Annals of Bristol in the Eighteenth Century* (Bristol, 1893; 1970 reprint), p. 356. While in the 1760s traders were still forced to pay heavy penalties to become freemen, a qualification for trading within central Bristol, in the ensuing decades the Corporation became less draconian on this issue. By 1792 one contemporary recorded that, 'all kinds of persons are free to exercise their trades' without being prosecuted or fined by the Corporation.
[55] SFBJ 21/6/1788.
[56] SFBJ 17/10/1789; Bmerc 1/3/1790.
[57] Bgaz 7/4/1796, 1/9/1796.
[58] FFBJ 6/7/1799.
[59] SFBJ 1/1/1791.
[60] Bmerc 6/7/1795.
[61] Bmerc 22/2/1796.
[62] Bgaz 24/3/1796.
[63] Bgaz 7/4/1796, 19/5/1796.
[64] FFBJ 6/7/1799.
[65] Swann, *Shoemaking*, pp. 8-9.
[66] D. Alexander, *Retailing in England during the Industrial Revolution* (London, 1970), p. 136.
[67] *Sketchley's Bristol Directory 1775*; *Mathews's Bristol guide and directory* (for 1794).
[68] N. McKendrick, J. Brewer, J. H. Plumb, *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England* (London, 1982), pp. 84-85.
[69] *Ibid.*, p. 85.
[70] BJ 11/3/1769.
[71] Bgaz 14/11/1771; BJ 1/5/1773.
[72] FFBJ 10/2/1776.
[73] BJ 23/9/1775.
[74] FFBJ 10/10/1789.
[75] FFBJ 1/10/1796.
[76] BJ 11/2/1769.
[77] BJ 11/2/1769. The above and following calculations are based on a pound consisting of twenty shillings, and of a shilling consisting of twelve pence. The percentage represented by labour costs varied, especially on cheaper products, as the nine shilling charge for 'the making only' of a 'Ladies Jean Dress' represented around 25% of the normal retail figure of two pounds and fifteen shillings. The same fee charged for 'the making only' of a 'Livery Coat, Waistcoat & Shag Breeches' represented around 13% of the normal asking price of three pounds and eight shillings.
[78] BJ 11/2/1769.
[79] BJ 4/8/1770.
[80] BJ 4/8/1770.
[81] FFBJ 7/1/1769. Smith also made a 'Plain Livery Cloth Coat and Shag Breeches' for three pounds and five shillings, though the cost of 'making only' was just seven and a half shillings, representing just 11.5% of the original cost.
[82] FFBJ 7/5/1774.
[83] FFBJ 14/5/1774.
[84] FFBJ 30/10/1779.
[85] FFBJ 2/4/1796.

[86] B. Fine and E. Leopold, *The World of Consumption* (London, 1993), pp. 130-131.
[87] J. Styles, 'Product Innovation in Early Modern London', *Past and Present*, No. 168, 2000, p. 162.
[88] S. Johnson, *A Dictionary of the English Language: Two Volumes* (London, 1755; 1983 reprint). See also Table Two on Page 14.
[89] Bgaz 2/6/1774.
[90] SFBJ 12/5/1787.
[91] Styles, 'Product Innovation', p. 162.
[92] *Ibid.*, p. 164.
[93] SFBJ 20/11/1790.
[94] Bmerc 27/9/1790.
[95] Bgaz 5/9/1793.
[96] B. Lemire, 'Consumerism in Preindustrial and Early Industrial England: The Trade in Secondhand Clothes', *Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 27, January 1988, p. 5.
[97] FFBJ 22/7/1797. Similarly John Mathews of Melksham described himself as an 'Army Taylor' when he advertised for twenty journeymen in Bath. See *Bath Chronicle*, 13/12/1792.
[98] Sonenscher, *Work and Wages*, p. 114.
[99] FFBJ 22/11/1800.
[100] Bgaz 18/4/1799.
[101] Bgaz 18/4/1799.
[102] Hoppit, *Risk and Failure*, p. 123.
[103] Farr, *Artisans*, p. 56.
[104] Lemire, *Dress, Culture and Commerce*, p. 11.
[105] B. Lemire, *Fashion's Favourite: The Cotton Trade and the Consumer in Britain, 1660-1800* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 184-185. Since the 'slops' (wide-kneed breeches) worn by sailors were 'made in the style of working-men's clothing' they became 'extensively used by different segments of the population'. To such an extent that the term 'slop' metamorphosed from meaning 'sailors' loose trousers' to meaning 'ready-made, cheap or inferior garments'.
[106] Bgaz 9/2/1775.
[107] Bgaz 7/2/1788.
[108] *Ibid.*
[109] *Sketchley's Bristol Directory 1775*; *Mathews's Bristol guide and directory* (for 1794).
[110] Styles, 'Product Innovation', pp. 129-130.
[111] FFBJ 7/1/1769.
[112] BJ 11/3/1769, Bgaz 14/11/1771.
[113] FFBJ 30/10/1779.
[114] BJ 1/5/1773.
[115] Bgaz 30/3/1780, FFBJ 16/8/1783.
[116] FFBJ 7/6/1788.
[117] SFBJ 26/6/1790.
[118] F. Braudel, *Capitalism and Material Life, 1400-1800* (Glasgow, 1973), p. 231.
[119] McKendrick et al, *Consumer Society*, p. 53, 60.
[120] Fine and Leopold, *World of Consumption*, p. 125.
[121] Lemire, 'Secondhand Clothes', p. 1, 4.
[122] Lemire, *Fashion's Favourite*, pp. 166-168; McKendrick et al, *Consumer Society*, p. 41, 47. McKendrick saw the doll as bringing about a blurring of class divisions in dress and enabling the 'conspicuous lead of the fashion leaders to be quickly copied by the rest of society', p. 43.
[123] Bgaz 14/11/1771, 3/3/1774; FFBJ 14/5/1774.
[124] Bgaz 9/2/1775.
[125] FFBJ 21/4/1781, 16/8/1783.
[126] SFBJ 12/5/1787.
[127] SFBJ 20/11/1790; B.Gaz 5/9/1793.
[128] Bgaz 4/3/1773.
[129] Bgaz 18/4/1799.
[130] FFBJ 22/11/1800.
[131] Fine and Leopold, *World of Consumption*, p. 131. Lemire has also commented that many 'ready-made clothes' were 'neither fashionable nor noteworthy', reinforcing the focus of fashion on adornments and decoration. See Lemire, *Dress, Culture and Commerce*, p. 43.
[132] M. Delpierre, *Dress in France in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1997), p. 71.
[133] McKendrick et al, *Consumer Society*, p. 50. However by 1800 McKendrick does note that the 'time-lag between London and the provinces was being measured in weeks and months rather than in decades'. See p. 96.

CHAPTER TWO: THE DIVISION OF LABOUR, GENDER AND MOBILITY IN THE BRISTOL SHOEMAKING AND TAILORING TRADES, 1770-1800

This chapter provides a detailed analysis of the way in which the labour force was organised in Bristol's shoemaking and tailoring trades in the late eighteenth century. Among other things, this issue offers insights into the role of gender in the organisation of the labour force, both in terms of the division of the workforce between those who made female and male items, and actual gender divides within the workforce itself. The majority of the evidence deployed here arises from insertions in the Bristol newspaper press, and from trade dictionaries. By utilising Bristol poll books for elections in this period, the chapter also examines the extent of labour mobility in the Bristol shoemaking and tailoring trades.

Making Shoes and the Division of Labour

The division of labour involved in producing a pair of shoes in eighteenth-century England was manifold, encompassing several different trades. First, the tanner prepared the hide by placing it in a 'Pit of Lime' in order to remove the hair. According to Campbell, the writer of a distinguished trade dictionary published in 1747, the hide was then placed into water along with a quantity of oak bark until the 'Bark had penetrated' through to the hide, when it was then dried and sent to the leather-dresser, or currier.[1] The currier then removed 'all the eneven rough Inside' and treated the leather with oils, though leathers destined for use as soles required less treatment than those to be used as upper leathers.[2] The shoemaker was further supplied with 'Wooden-Heels for Men and Women's Shoes' by a last-maker, whose lasts were formed from 'a single piece of wood' designed to 'imitate the foot'.[3] Shoes were therefore largely made from pre-made sections. This was illustrated in July 1789 when Sevier and Hicks, a Bristol shoemaking firm, had 'six dozen soles for women's shoes' stolen from their premises.[4] David Alexander notes that by the early nineteenth century the shoemaker had become 'increasingly an assembler of ready-made components' as he bought 'pre-cut soles, tops and tips from leather cutters and footwear manufacturers'.[5]

Once the leather was fit for the shoemaker the first process involved cutting out the leather, a task often performed by the master himself. According to an anonymous trade dictionary published in 1806, it was the master who 'measures his customers' and then 'cuts out the leather for his work-people to put together', a task delegated to foremen where the shoemaker carried on a sizeable business.[6] Having cut the leather the master passed it on to

the journeyman, who joined 'the upper leather to the sole of a shoe' in the following manner. Using a thread immersed in wax in order to form a 'strong and durable substance', the journeyman 'sews the leather together' through holes made by an 'awl'.[7]

In late eighteenth-century Bristol those skilled in cutting leather were an important component of the workforce. Insertions in Bristol newspapers indicate that men who were able to both cut leather and supervise the business were valued men of the trade. In May 1783, for example, T. Millard advertised for a 'Clicker (*sic*)' who was required to be 'well experienced in the Art of cutting', a skill that was called for often throughout the period.[8] In August 1769, Isaac Bence advertised for a 'CLICKER' who was 'capable of undertaking every Part of the Shoe-making Branch', suggesting that cutters required knowledge of the entire shoemaking business, while a Bath concern required a 'CLICKER with a good Character (*sic*)'.[9] An insertion in 1775 required a 'clicker' with knowledge of shoemaking 'in its various Branches', but also required the applicant to be able to 'write a tolerable Hand'.[10] Indeed, the role of a 'clicker' was synonymous with that of the foreman, with the result that adverts using both terms specified skill, experience, and responsibility. Of four adverts from the 1770s, two of which called for a 'Foreman', and two for a 'clicker', all required a man to work 'in a reputable Shoe-maker's Shop in this City', proving that applicants were required *actually* in the shop where goods were sold.[11] The role of a 'Cutter' was also synonymous with that of the 'foreman' and 'clicker'. John Pedden, for example, was a 'Gentlemen's Cutter' to William Tilladams and when the pair fell out in 1789 the latter advised his customers not to trust Pedden 'with orders on my account'.[12] It appears, therefore, that, at least in some cases, a 'Cutter' was entrusted with taking customer orders, a role associated with that of the foreman. Evidence of the indispensable role of foremen, or even skilled journeymen, can be seen on the deaths of masters when such employees appear to have provided much-needed stability to the business. In 1773, for example, a recently widowed woman wrote to a customer advising that her husband's death meant 'nothing at all' since 'our journeyman will keep doing for me the same as he did before', and she explained that her late husband had been ill for some time.[13] Likewise in 1799 Elizabeth Pewters, the widow of Joseph Pewters, advised her Bristol customers that the business would be continued despite the death of her husband 'with proper Assistants' to supervise the business.[14]

Journeymen, as we have seen, were generally employed to sew the composite elements of the shoe together. A further division of the workforce was the split between those who made women's and those who made men's footwear. Trade dictionaries for the period

between the mid-eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries concurred that 'journeymen in this trade' were distinguished between 'women's shoe-makers' and those producing 'shoes and boots for men'.[15] According to Campbell the reason for the 'two distinct Branches' in the trade was that 'few are good at both', because it was 'much more ingenious to make a Woman's Shoe than a Man's' since female footwear required 'neater Seams' and used 'much finer materials' such as silk and damask.[16] Work on women's shoes therefore seems to have required greater skill, and may have warranted greater remuneration. According to Campbell, although journeymen were generally poorly paid this was especially the case 'in the Men's Way', inferring that pay in the women's sector was not quite so bad.[17] The French example appears to support this contention; Marseille shoemakers, for example, were paid more for making women's shoes than men's.[18] This argument is, however, countered to some extent by the evidence of John Rees, a 'master boot and shoemaker at Bristol' when he published his treatise on the trade in 1813.[19] Rees informed his readers that knowledge of 'making a man's shoe' is required for all 'skilful workmen' even if they wish to be 'confined to women's shoes only'.[20] Therefore, Rees stated, 'it is generally known in the trade', that women's men who had been trained at men's work were of a higher standard 'than that of mere women's men'.[21] However, Rees' comments may have reflected changes that had occurred during the Napoleonic War. James Lackington's memoirs indicate that women's work carried the greatest level of prestige in Bristol shoemaking during the 1770s. Lackington had been raised in Taunton and had worked in the Bristol shoemaking trade in the early 1770s, before moving to London and making his name as a distinguished bookseller, and then publishing his memoirs in 1792. Recalling his days in Bristol in the early 1770s, Lackington mentions that his roommate, Jones, was a fellow shoemaker who could 'get more money than I could' since he worked on women's shoes.[22] In addition, during a time spent in Kingsbridge in Devon, Lackington took to making women's footwear for the first time since no women's shoemakers were based there. Despite his lack of experience, Lackington's venture soon earned him the reputation of being the 'best workman in the town'.[23]

The primary distinction of skill between men's and women's work was linked to the use of different materials. This distinction was similar to the way in which the 'measure of skill' in eighteenth-century France was largely connected with 'materials' and the dexterity that workers had with them.[24] In July 1769, for example, a request for a 'Number of Journeymen' stipulated that the employer required only those 'who can work on Women's Stuff Shoes (*sic*)'.[25] The clear implication here is that not all journeymen shoemakers were acquainted with producing the above item, otherwise the advert need not have been so

specific. It suggests that, as the trade dictionaries indeed highlighted, women's shoes were made of finer materials such as 'stuff', a form of woollen textile.[26] The specific use of 'stuff' for women's shoes is explicit in the evidence. Thus, in 1783 T. Millard mentioned that he possessed a 'large Quantity of Womens STUFF SHOES and PUMPS (*sic*)', while Tilladams stated in 1788 that he had acquired 'Stuffs for Ladies SHOES and SANDALLS', and in 1777 Hicks, Sevier, and Lane advertised 'all Sorts of Womens SILK and STUFF SHOES'.[27] This type of evidence reinforces the fact that items made from these materials were considered to be exclusively feminine. In 1771, for example, a Bath warehouse required journeymen for 'Silk and Stuff Work', materials used for women's shoes, while the 'Shoe-Warehouse' based in Corn Street, Bristol, differentiated between their need for 'Stuff Heel Men' and 'Men's Men (*sic*)'.[28]

Different materials, therefore, clearly called for different skills. Lackington made it clear which work he preferred. On returning to Bristol from his sojourn in Devon, Lackington stated that 'after having worked on stuff-work in the country' he 'could not bear the idea of returning to the leather branch' so he 'attempted and obtained a seat of Stuff in Bristol'.[29] While the gender-oriented production of the trade was often outlined by expertise in different materials, women nevertheless did also use leather footwear. This explains why Stephen Bagg required a mixture of men capable of making men's and boy's boots, as well as 'Women's and Girls strong Leather Shoes'.[30] John Morgan required journeymen in the 'Women's Leather and Stuff Branch' suggesting that both stuff and leather were used for female footwear.[31] Likewise, in January 1793 Thomas Brown was charged with stealing 'twenty-two pairs of Men's leather Shoes and seven pair of Women's leather Shoes', at the Bristol Quarter Sessions.[32] Such evidence probably reflects the fact that poorer women required sturdy leather footwear, compared to the finer materials worn by higher-class women.

Evidence of whether journeymen were always distinctly divided between those that made women's and those that made men's footwear is ambiguous. There is, for example, some evidence that journeymen may have learned the skills of both sectors. When John Huish advertised a reward in 1772 for the apprehension of John Broom, a journeyman who had stolen goods from him, he mentioned that the latter 'usually worked on Womens Stuff-Work' but could 'turn his Hand to either Branch'.[33] According to Sonenscher, in eighteenth-century Marseilles 'journeymen shoemakers.....objected to making men's shoes because they were invariably paid at lower rates than women's shoes'.[34] This points toward a workforce skilled in both sectors, for one can only object to making men's shoes if one is

also capable of making women's shoes for greater remuneration. Evidence of dual skills among English shoemakers is, however, generally less decisive. Lackington is a case in point. His metamorphosis into a woman's shoemaker was largely due to the happy accident of arriving in a place where no such expertise existed. Yet, his statement that, 'I had not been brought up to stuff-work, nor had ever entirely made one stuff or silk shoe before' suggests that shoemakers were not normally taught both sectors on starting the trade.[35] Lackington's claim that he would not have acted as 'a stuff-man had there been any such workmen in the place', likewise suggests that workers in the trade normally kept to one sector or the other.[36] Overall, then, while it was perfectly feasible for individual journeymen, such as John Broom or James Lackington, to gain knowledge of both sectors it would appear that journeymen were largely divided into one sector or another. The clearest evidence for this arises from the manner in which journeymen organised themselves during strike activity. In 1777, for example, Bristol's journeymen shoemakers felt it necessary during a strike to inform the public that a reported difference between 'the Men's and Women's Men' had not occurred.[37] This evidence clearly indicates that those who worked on men's shoes were differentiated from those that worked on women's shoes. During the 1792 strike, the ladies' shoemakers advertised their grievances separately from those of the men's shoemakers, again reflecting a clear difference relating to separate groups of workers.[38]

Outworking

Historical studies indicate that shoemaking was largely based on outwork during this period. Prothero's study of early nineteenth-century London artisans, for example, included shoemaking among the trades organised along domestic lines, and he argues that journeymen either worked at home or hired a separate room for working purposes, sometimes 'clubbing together' with others of the trade.[39] According to Rule, out-working was linked to issues of autonomy. Artisans in this period, he argues, expected 'no interference in the way in which they did their work'. Prothero supports this, asserting that shoemakers would strike if forced to work on the employers' premises.[40] Swann's study of the trade also concludes that 'most shoes were made by outworkers working at home' in the eighteenth century.[41] Historians have regarded embezzlement as evidence of outworking. In 1722, for example, the London master shoemakers petitioned the House of Commons for action to be taken against journeymen who embezzled and pawned materials. While the masters stated that they 'deliver to and intrust (*sic*)' with 'Leather and other Materials for making up of Boots, Shoes, Slippers' and so forth, the men were said to 'frequently pawn, sell, detain, and exchange' these goods.[42] Embezzling on such a scale

would not have been possible had the trade been based in workshops, closely supervised by a master or foreman. Thus, Styles, for example, claims that there is 'virtual unanimity' among historians that 'the principal disadvantage of putting-out for the employer' was the 'problem of embezzlement by workers'.[43]

The suggestion that embezzlement provides evidence of outworking is reinforced by Bristol sources. In 1769, for example, John Banfield was working as a journeyman for Thomas Pearce Allison when he 'was committed' to the local 'Bridewell' for 'exchanging the Leather of his Master' by making shoes therefrom and selling them and substituting 'bad Leather' in its place.[44] When the newspaper report carrying this news mentioned that 'Master Shoemakers were advised to examine 'their Goods when brought home', it portrayed a clear distinction between the place of work of the journeyman and that of the master, as well as possibly explaining the prevalence of this misdemeanour.[45] Likewise, in 1780 a 'Journeyman Shoe-maker' was committed in Bristol for two weeks and whipped for pawning shoes that were 'given him to be made up' by his master.[46] According to Styles, the pawning of goods was, like embezzlement, a type of fraud which 'characterised the putting-out system'.[47] The opportunities that outwork allowed for theft was again witnessed in a prosecution launched against two Bristol pawnbrokers by Bence and Lock. The former admitted taking 'Women's Stuff Shoes' that had been 'entrusted to the Care of several Journeymen' in St Philip and Jacob for them 'to make up'.[48] William Horwood, a journeyman shoemaker, was also committed for 'selling leather' belonging to Bence and Lock.[49] Opportunities for theft among outworkers were still rife in the 1790s when a 'journeymen cordwainer' called John Prince Butler was convicted of 'embezzling leather intrusted to him to make into shoes (*sic*)'.[50] John Rees, the Bristol shoemaker, also touched upon the dangers of outworking to be avoided by the young novice, the clear target of his treatise. Rees advised journeymen to be 'attentive to the orders you have received from the shop you work for', and advised them to avoid embezzlement, since by using the materials 'he receives from the shop' the young beginner can avoid a 'shameful violation of the principles of honesty'.[51] This reinforces the picture that Bristol's shoemakers were, in the words of the anonymous author of *Crispin Anecdotes,* among those 'fire-side artizans (*sic*)' who 'sit in the house all the day long', and 'work at home on their own hearths'.[52]

Historians have also found that out-work offers a means with which to evaluate the gendered division of labour within the trade. Thus, Anna Clark argues that, because shoemakers had been assisted by the labour of their wives from the mid-eighteenth century, that the 'trade had fallen into patterns of family labor long before others had'.[53]

Likewise Louise Tilly and Joan Scott note that those 'wives of skilled craftsmen who worked at home' and assisted their husbands included those who 'waxed shoes for shoemakers'. And, Prothero notes that in the shoemaking trade journeymen were aided by their wives' labour.[54] Eighteenth-century observers of the trade support these arguments. Campbell noted that shoemakers 'employ Women to bind their Shoes' and sew them when they are made of 'Silk, Damask, or Callimanco'.[55] Similarly, in 1806, a trade dictionary noted that 'women are employed to bind shoes of all kinds' and also to 'sew the quarters together of those that are made of silk, satin, and stuffs'.[56] Indeed the evidence both from Campbell and from the 1806 dictionary implies that women were involved in the production of women's footwear itself.

The involvement of women in the trade and the ways in which outworking facilitated both a domestic and a gendered division of labour is further illustrated by Lackington's memoirs. After marrying and setting up home in Bristol during the early 1770s, Lackington mentions that, to supplement their income, Nancy, his new wife, 'was learning to bind stuff-shoes' even though she 'had never been much used to her needle'.[57] Furthermore, when the couple moved to London a few years later Lackington also 'obtained some stuff-shoes' for Nancy 'to bind', suggesting that this was a regular feature of the trade.[58] Likewise Thomas Dinham, a Taunton master, advertised for labour in 1792 and mentioned that married men 'will be the more approved of' since 'their wives may also have great part of their labour'.[59] Although Clark has posited that the influx of female labour into the shoemaking trade became marked during the labour shortages and high demand of the Napoleonic War, little evidence exists of this development in Bristol itself.[60] However, a glimpse of the possible impact of the war on the Bristol trade can be seen in an advert placed by Masters and Company for 'TWENTY WOMEN HANDS (*sic*)' to work at their warehouse in August 1799.[61] This was a move that may have represented the growing use of cheap, female labour, in the ready-made footwear market. While a marked change may have occurred at the end of the century under the pressures of wartime production, it seems clear that the usual manner in which women became involved in shoemaking was undoubtedly in the role of a wife providing supplementary labour. The other main occurrence was the running of shoemaking concerns by the widows of master shoemakers, with the assistance of a skilled employee. This appears, however, to have been a relatively rare occurrence. Thus, among the heads of shoemaking businesses listed in Bristol's trade directories, only three out of 125 master shoemakers were female in 1775, while in 1794 only one out of 65 masters were female (see table 2:1).[62] It seems likely, that these women were widows. Thus, of 35 separate tradesmen listed in table 1:1[63], only two were women,

and both Ann Tilladam and Katherine Smith were widows overseeing businesses that had belonged to their deceased husbands.[64]

Making Clothes and the Division of Labour

There were marked similarities between the structure and division of labour in shoemaking and in the tailoring trades. The role of the foreman in tailoring was also, for example, a key one as he was the 'best Workman in the Shop' who measured the customer when the master was away, and 'cuts and finishes all the Work' and then 'carries it home to the Customer'.[65] This was a role that was normally performed by a master where the trade was 'not extensive'.[66] In common with shoemaking there were 'mere working taylors (*sic*)', the journeymen, who sewed the clothes even though few of them knew 'how to cut out with any degree of skill the clothes which they sew together'.[67] As in shoemaking, cutting out was regarded as the most skilled aspect of the trade, and wool was the principal material in which the tailor worked.[68] The term 'tailor' was derived from the French word *taille,* meaning 'both the cutting and stitching of cloth'.[69]

The cutting and fitting of clothes was a key concern for eighteenth-century tailors, as the Bristol evidence vividly illustrates. Thus, in 1769, James Smith, a Bristol master, pledged to overcome what he termed the 'Illconveniences so often practised among the Master Taylors in Bristol (*sic*)'.[70] These consisted in giving customers the 'unnecessary Trouble of trying their Cloaths on before finished', and making enough alterations to leave the clothes 'half worn out', as Smith promised to make their 'Cloaths fit without any Alteration' and achieve 'more Exactness than any other Master of the Branch (*sic*)'.[71] George Cole likewise reacted to 'Complaints of Goods ripping' that were 'so often made' by promising in 1787 'to make up every Article under his own Inspection'.[72] In May 1796 an advert for the *Tailor's Complete Guide* in the *Bristol Mercury* also alluded to these kinds of problems. The manual, published in London, professed to 'instruct the rising Generation' in the 'Art and Science of cutting out Cloth' and 'fitting any person with the greatest accuracy and precision'. It also aimed to 'avoid the errors of the Trade in misfitting' and was written by a self-styled 'Society of Adepts in the Profession'.[73] It would appear therefore that the problems of fitting were a national headache, rather than just Bristol-specific. Thus, Elizabeth Gaskell's novel *North and South*, published in 1854, described a life-long tailor who 'had never been able to make a pair of trousers to fit for as long as he had been in the trade', infers that such issues were still current well into the nineteenth century.[74]

Given that, in contrast to shoemaking, recruiting adverts for tailors were rarely placed in newspapers, information on the contribution of foremen to the cutting and fitting process is invaluable. One advert in 1793 calling for a 'FOREMAN in a genteel trade' who 'had experience in the art of cutting gentlemen's clothes and ladies' habits (*sic*)', reinforces the argument that cutting was the real skill in a similar manner to that seen in the shoemaking trade.[75] Likewise Robert Tripp assured his customers in 1793 that they could be 'fitted without the least alteration by a skilful, and ingenious Foreman whose exertions have hitherto procured universal approbation'.[76] A few years later Tripp even boasted that he employed a 'Foreman whose skill in the art of cutting Gentlemen's Cloaths and Ladies' Habits is not to be excelled by any person in the kingdom'.[77] Similarly Isaac Vines advised customers that he had 'engaged some of the best Cutters and Makers', further enunciating the division between cutting and sewing.[78] In common with shoemaking, foremen possessed a wide knowledge of the trade, as was again evident when master tailors passed away. In 1771, for example, Jane Badger advertised her intention to continue her late husband's business with the 'Assistance of her Foreman whose Knowledge in the Trade is unquestionable'.[79] In 1775, Martha Walker likewise continued the business of Thomas Walker, her late brother-in-law, with the assistance of an 'able Foreman', while the foreman to the late Robert Baker assisted his widow, Grace, as he had 'conducted the Trade during her Husband's long illness'.[80] Similarly, when William Hurne died in 1777, Richard Tombs who had been 'many Years his Foreman' assisted with the business.[81]

It would appear that, unlike many shoemakers, journeymen tailors were workshop-based. In 1777, for example, 'two journeymen taylors (*sic*)' in Bath were engaged in a dispute that resulted in a duel, the origins of which were traced to a 'debate on the shop-board (*sic*)', which reflects the fact that the journeymen concerned were based in a workshop.[82] According to Rule, skilled tailors in London expected to work 'on the employers' premises' in this period. Prothero also describes production in the early nineteenth-century London tailoring trade as operating in 'small workshops' run by masters with a 'small number of journeymen'.[83] In fact, there is little evidence from Bristol sources to either substantiate or contradict this picture. It seems likely, however, that Bristol production followed national patterns and was therefore largely workshop based. This assumption is reinforced by the fact that, unlike shoemaking, there appears to be a total absence of embezzlement accusations involving those in the tailoring trade.

Gender

If work was largely conducted within the workshop, can we ascertain whether women

worked there too? According to historical studies the production of clothes in this period was actually divided between trades populated by men and those populated largely by women. Katrina Honeyman states that while women 'were employed in female sectors', such as 'dressmaking and millinery', 'skilled men controlled the substantial tailoring trade'.[84] Likewise Bridget Hill argues that in the eighteenth century female entry to skilled trades 'was confined to those regarded as traditionally 'women's trades' such as 'millinery' and 'mantua-making'.[85] Ivy Pinchbeck's pioneering study also affirmed that the 'skilled trades left almost entirely in the hands of women' during this period were those belonging to 'milliners, mantua-makers, staymakers', and, of these, she rated millinery as being 'first in importance'.[86] Campbell also described millinery as being 'no Male Trade', as the milliner provided 'every thing to the Ladies that can contribute to set off their Beauty' including 'Smocks, Aprons, Tippits, Handerchiefs' while 'some of them deal in Habits for Riding and Dresses for the Masquerade'.[87] Tilly and Scott reiterate that milliners were indeed female trades-people as the 'women ran their enterprises independently of their husbands'.[88] Mantua-making was also undoubtedly a female preserve: thus, Campbell claims that 'she (the mantua-maker) is Sister to the Taylor', making 'Night-Gowns, Mantuas, and Petticoats', and employing 'Journeywomen' rather than journeymen in the process.[89]

Jane Rendall links the origin of female dominance in these trades to the early eighteenth century, when, in places such as York and Norwich, the guilds of mercers and drapers 'had fought a losing battle against women setting up as mantua makers, dressmakers and milliners'.[90] Indeed female involvement in the tailoring trade itself had been fairly common in the early modern period, largely due to labour shortages. However, the eighteenth century witnessed a growing consciousness among artisans of a 'male property' of skill, and this tended to exclude women from trades in which they had previously worked.[91] Thus, Aberdeen tailors in the eighteenth century, for example, actually 'introduced punitive measures to exclude female participation in their trades'.[92] Despite such pressures women continued to be involved, particularly in certain sectors of the trade. Elizabeth Sanderson's study of women's work in eighteenth-century Edinburgh found that of 118 single women who operated their own businesses, 42 operated as milliners, and 18 as mantua-makers, reinforcing the importance of these trades to women.[93]

Although the available sources provide no evidence as to the gender division of labour within the actual Bristol workforce, it is nevertheless possible to draw some conclusions about gender divisions at the top of the trade, between the owners of businesses.[94]

Evidence from two Bristol trade directories (see table 2:1) for 1775 and 1794 suggests that tailoring in the city was largely a male concern, with women never accounting for more than 5 per cent of the total number of masters. [95] It is likely, as already stated, that these were mainly widows continuing their husbands' businesses with the aid of foremen. This was certainly the practice elsewhere in the country. Thus, Sanderson argues that in the eighteenth-century Edinburgh tailoring trade the only women who were 'officially allowed to be involved' were 'wives and widows'.[96] Mercers, who were providers of materials including silk, were an even more male-dominated group; *all* of them were men. The Bristol stay-making trade was also predominantly male; men never constituted less than 80 per cent of the total number of masters. Nevertheless the fact that women comprised between 15 and 20 per cent of masters among this trade does suggest this was a trade in

Table 2:1 : Gender Breakdown of Masters in Bristol's Garment Trades: 1775 and 1794

Trade	1775 Total	Male	Female	1794 Total	Male	Female
Tailors	106	101 (95.28%)	5 (4.72%)	89	88 (98.88%)	1 (1.12%)
Stay-makers	20	17 (85%)	3 (15%)	21	17 (80.95%)	4 (19.05%)
Milliners	15	6 (40%)	9 (60%)	17	6 (35.29%)	11 (64.71%)
Mantua-makers	16	-	16 (100%)	4	-	4 (100%)
Haberd-ashers	28	21 (75%)	7 (25%)	26	17 (65.38%)	9 (34.62%)
Mercers	11	11 (100%)	-	7	7 (100%)	-
Shoemakers	125	122 (97.6%)	3 (2.4%)	65	64 (98.46%)	1 (1.54%)

Sources: *Sketchley's Bristol Directory 1775* (1971 reprint); *Mathews's Bristol Directory 1793-4* (Bristol, 1794)

which women were more able and willing to become involved. The figures for haberdashery offer a more convincing example of a trade that offered openings to women. While 25 per cent of all masters among this trade were female in 1775, this had grown to almost 35 per cent by 1794, an increase that was unlikely to be accounted for solely by the involvement of widows. Although women predominated in millinery, forming 60 per cent of the total in 1775, and almost 65 per cent in 1794, this paints a rather misleading picture. The small number of milliners in Bristol, from which these figures arise, suggest that millinery was neither a major component of clothes production in the city, nor a mainstay of female work opportunities. Likewise, although 100 per cent of mantua-makers were female, their numbers were small and appear to have been declining. The number of mantua makers in the city fell from 16 to 4 in the course of twenty years, suggesting that the demand for their services was declining in late eighteenth-century Bristol. However, this seems to have been in line with patterns elsewhere: thus, the number of mantua makers operating in Edinburgh in any given year was not large either, being 18 in 1752 and 23 in 1754.[97] Whether the lower Bristol figures were due to specific local factors such as

competition from other production centres, and particularly from London, is hard to tell. Female trades such as these undoubtedly faced local competition from the male-centred tailoring trade. According to Rendall, millinery was among those trades in which 'several complaints by women writers of the difficulties faced by women in business, given the presence of male competition' were arising by the 1790s.[98] Sanderson has described how mantua-makers had never been able to totally dominate the production of women's clothes. Indeed, mantua-making had only 'first appeared at the end of the seventeenth century', and since tailors 'had been responsible for making women's clothes' before this period, they 'continued to make women's clothes for some time after this and made women's riding clothes until the end of the century'.[99]

Adverts inserted by tailors in the Bristol newspapers (see table 1:2), provide a means by which to assess the extent to which tailors in Bristol in the period from 1769 to 1800 made either men's or women's clothes, or both.[100] Of forty-three adverts, nineteen were gender-neutral in terms of mentioning the sex of their intended customers. Of the remaining twenty four, four made no mention of serving female customers, including John Totterdell who mentioned serving 'Gentlemen' at the Hotwells, but not women, and Samuel Willy who 'makes Clothes for Gentlemen' but seemingly not for women.[101] A further nine made mention of serving women, but only with a 'Ladies Riding Dress', a practice which Sanderson states was the norm.[102] A further eleven adverts, such as that by James Gerish, made mention of serving 'Gentlemen and Ladies', though whether the latter were served with goods other than riding dresses is impossible to ascertain from the evidence.[103] Some adverts were more explicit. Thus, George Packer McCarthy offered 'all Sorts of CLOATHS (*sic*)' for 'Men, Women, and Childrens Wear', while Fortunatus Hagley who sought the custom of 'Gentlemen and Ladies'.[104] Catering to both sexes may have been synonymous with the ready-made trade. George Cole, one such producer, possessed a stock that consisted of 'Ladies and Gentlemen's stript Elastic and Beaver upper Coats' among other things, while George Withy offered 'Women's Cloaks' along with male items.[105] Adverts that actually offered women's dresses, the preserve of the mantua-maker, were not that numerous, although they were becoming more so by the end of the century. Thus, in 1774, F. Lloyd offered to make 'Habits' for 'Ladies', Moran, Burnell and Morgan offered a 'Lady's habit and skirt' for sale in 1796, Robert Tripp offered to make women's dresses in 1793 and 1800, and Davis traded as a 'Ladies' Habit-Maker and Taylor (*sic*)' in 1796.[106] Thus 20 out of the 24 tailors whose adverts have been collected provided at least some female attire, though some only with riding dresses, while eleven, representing a quarter of all the adverts, offered a wider range of female items, including dresses. These

developments may explain the drop in the number of mantua-makers, especially with the development of the ready-made trade in clothes.

Employment and Recruitment – the House of Call

In contrast to the use of direct adverts for labour placed in newspapers by master shoemakers, it was the house of call system that lay at the heart of the labour recruitment process in the tailoring trade. Farr argues that 'journeymen tailors had long had their own houses of call' in England, and that, in common with their French and German counterparts, these served as 'clearing-houses for workers'.[107] According to Prothero, 'houses of call' were based at 'public houses' where 'members looking for work registered their names', and masters 'applied when they needed men', when those waiting the longest received priority.[108] Rule argues that the house of call played a central role in employment relations because it 'acted as a labour exchange'.[109] At 'some tailors' houses of call' seniority was predicated on age and two or three books were held, so that the 'more senior members had their names on the first book and always received priority in gaining work over those on the second'.[110] Master tailors generally favoured this system as an insistence on meeting the seven-year apprenticeship criteria 'guaranteed a certain level of skill', while the easy access to labour which the system provided meant that men could be quickly hired 'even for half a day's work'. The house of call system also allowed some controls to be placed over workmanship; evidence of this can be seen in the tailors' rule that a member would be expelled from the house of call if he was 'complained of three times by masters'.[111] The benefits of the house of call system to the tailoring trade, were outlined by one writer in 1745. This account claimed that the trade was 'very precarious' because order books were full one minute and empty the next. It was therefore beneficial for 'the Journeymen to assemble daily at certain publick Houses of Call' from where masters could be supplied 'at a Minute's Warning' with 'any Number of Journeymen they wanted'.[112] The house of call system also provided clear benefits for workers. Thus, Campbell described the role of the 'Ale-house' as both an employment exchange, since 'the Masters go there to enquire when they want Hands', and an unemployment relief centre. 'The House of Call', he wrote, gives them Credit for Victuals and Drink while they are unemployed'.[113]

The use of the 'house of call' was clearly evident in the Bristol tailoring trade. Twenty were mentioned in the Bristol press between 1763 and 1796 (see table 2:2). In December 1770, for example, the 'JOURNEYMEN TAYLORS' addressed the 'MASTER TAYLORS of this City (*sic*)' concerning the relocation of two separate houses of call.

While one was relocated from 'the Crown' on Needless-Bridge to 'the Sun' in Christmas-street, the other was moved from 'the Moon and Seven Stars in Broad-Mead' to 'the Three Compasses in the Horse-Fair'.[114] As these examples indicate, insertions were normally placed in the Bristol newspapers when a particular house of call was moved to another public house, with the result that these figures may in fact underestimate the total number of such institutions operating in Bristol in this period. Though the reasons for changing premises are never stated, use of these houses of call as employment exchanges is a recurrent theme. Thus, the group of journeymen who took up residence at 'the Sun' advised that they would 'attend there for the Commands of the Masters as usual', while those now ensconced at the 'Three Compasses' notified masters that they 'shall attend for the Continuance of your Favors'.[115] The house of call therefore served a dual purpose as a reception-centre for journeymen and as a place where masters could obtain labour. In May 1771, for example, the landlord of the 'Three Compasses in the Horse-Fair' advertised for 'JOURNEYMEN TAYLORS' to attend his premises and also reassured the 'Master-Taylors (that they) shall be serv'd with good Workmen (*sic*)'.[116] This was no isolated

Table 2:2 : Houses of Call used by Bristol's Journeymen Tailors, 1763-1796

House of Call	Street/Parish*	Ref/Date**
Ship	Broad Street – Christchurch	FFBJ 15/10/1763
King's Head	Wine Street – Christchurch	FFBJ 15/10/1763
Crown	Needless-Bridge – Unknown	BJ 1/12/1770
Sun	Christmas Street – St. John	BJ 1/12/1770
Moon and Seven Stars	Broad-Mead – St. James	BJ 8/12/1770
Three Compasses	Horse-Fair – St. James	BJ 8/12/1770
Pye-Ball-Horse	Pithay-Gate – Christchurch	FFBJ 15/2/1772
Swan	Broad Street – Christchurch	Bgaz 8/4/1773
Plume of Feathers	Wine Street – Christchurch	BJ 6/11/1773
White Lion	Tucker Street – St. Paul	BJ 6/11/1773
Cock	St. James's Church-yard – St. James	BJ 6/11/1773
Kings Head	St. James's Back – St. James	Bgaz 17/11/1774
Kings Arms	Broad-Mead – St. James	SFBJ 11/10/1777
Ship and Castle	Silver Street – St. James	SFBJ 18/7/1778
Crown and Leek	Small Street – St Leonard	SFBJ 31/3/1781
Prince Frederick	Lewins Mead – St.James	SFBJ 19/8/1786
Full Moon	Broad Street – Christchurch	FFBJ 10/10/1789
White Lion	St. James Back – St. James	Bmerc 11/10/1790
Old Globe	Christmas Street – St. John	Bgaz 24/3/1796
Marquis of Granby	St. James Back – St. James	SFBJ 26/3/1796

* Streets were usually the only form of address given in the insertions. These were matched to parishes by way of cross-referencing with a rates index. Bristol Rates Index: Parishes and Streets therein, 1800-1823 in Bristol Reference Library (BL 14/15).
** For full references see the text and footnotes.

instance. In 1772, for example, Joseph Bryan who had 'open'd a HOUSE OF CALL (*sic*)' at the 'Pye-Ball-Horse' in 'Pithay-Gate' informed the 'Society of Merchant-Taylors (*sic*)' that he could supply them with 'Men of unquestionable Abilities' because he had twenty-four men who were 'immediately ready'.[117] This use was again evident in November 1773

when the journeymen using the 'Plume-of-Feathers' in Wine-street moved to the 'White-Lion' in Tucker-street, and informed the 'Master-Taylors (*sic*)' that 'able Workmen' would continue to 'be constantly supplied'.[118] Likewise in November 1774 when the 'Society of Journeymen Taylors (*sic*)' moved from the 'SWAN' in 'Cyder-House Passage' to the 'KING's-Head' on St. James's Back, they advised the 'Gentlemen MERCHANT TAYLORS (*sic*)' that 'Care shall be taken to supply our Employers with good Men'.[119] By October 1790 the 'WHITE LION' on St James's Back had become a house of call as 'TWENTY able Workmen' were required and asked to apply at the aforementioned alehouse.[120]

Labour Mobility and Tramping

The house of call therefore clearly operated as a centre at which journeymen could register for work and be distributed to vacant jobs. This leaves unanswered, however, whether, the workers that this network facilitated were local men or those who had travelled greater distances in search of work. According to historians, tramping played an important role in allowing 'unemployed journeymen' to travel to seek 'work and experience'. Travelling journeymen were thereby 'supported *en route* by the local societies of their respective trades'. They were paid an allowance of either a half-penny or penny per mile at each stopping point.[121] With the exception of cotton spinners, potters, and miners, tramping networks were thought to be ubiquitous throughout eighteenth-century trades. [122] Access to such networks undoubtedly provided flexibility. Thus, Thompson compares the restricted position of the cotton spinner, who was 'confined to the district', to the example of the shoemaker who could 'get work in any town'.[123] Tramping was a common phenomenon, not only in England, but in Europe as well, where it in fact operated on a more extensive scale. In France, for instance, training in many trades including shoemaking and tailoring actually required young men to conduct a three to seven year trip across the country learning the trade's skills.[124] According to Farr migratory labour was consequently 'a constant feature of the manufacturing economy of Europe's cities', with the result that 'Europe's workshops were largely peopled by a floating population of casual labor'.[125] Josef Ehmer's study of 'central European artisans' in this period reached a similar conclusion, finding that 'at least three-quarters of the journeymen' employed in artisan trades 'consisted of immigrants'.[126] Such high levels of mobility have led Rule to argue that the tramping system in France was 'more universal, more ritualised and more of an expected period in the life cycle of the artisan' than in England.[127] The journal of the French glazier, Jacques-Louis Menetra, bears testimony to this. Between 1757 and 1763 he travelled to 30 different towns and cities and across the length and breadth of France.[128]

Chase suggests that lower mobility rates among English artisans may have been a product of the Settlement Laws, which encouraged more artisans to stay where they were entitled to poor relief.[129] By contrast, however, Hobsbawm believed that 'the Settlement Laws hardly incommoded the artisan' and Chambers found that, even in early modern England, mobility rates were such as to suggest that the Settlement Laws did not create a 'serious barrier to the movement of single able-bodied young men and women'.[130] The fact that tramping journeymen were sure of receiving financial support from their trade also tends to undermine Chase's argument. Tramping journeymen were financially supported during their trip, they only stayed in places to work, and if no such work was available they returned home.

The Bristol evidence suggests that tramping was common among the city's shoemakers and tailors. The numerous insertions in Bristol's newspapers relating to houses of call indicate that tramping was an important factor in the Bristol tailoring trade, especially because, as Rule asserts, in the tailoring trade the tramping network was organised around the house of call system.[131] Likewise, Chase notes that the existence of houses of call 'among London tailors from the 1720s' actually 'facilitated tramping'.[132] The importance of tramping to tailors were to the fore in the memories of a 'general secretary' of the tailors' union, set down in the mid-nineteenth century. Looking back at the 'old days', he stated that tramping was a 'symbol of independence' and that a 'man was scarcely considered a good tailor until he had done his turn on the road'.[133] On the basis of such evidence, Leeson argues that the 'tailors certainly had a developed tramping custom in the eighteenth century', to the extent that 6,000 London tailors used 'tramping as a strike weapon' in 1764.[134]

By contrast with the tailoring trade, the evidence suggests that tramping among shoemakers, organised around the house of call, was a later development. Thus, while communications between London and Bristol shoemakers can be traced back to the late fourteenth century, an 'extensive network for tramping' among shoemakers was not established until 1784.[135] However, once established this network appears to have offered an extensive tramping experience. In 1791, for example, a London shoemaker by the name of Thomas Preston tramped to Preston, Kent, Essex, Birmingham, Nottingham, Sheffield, Warrington, Manchester, Liverpool, Dublin, Cork, Bristol, Bath, Oxford, Maidenhead, before returning to London. And, he remarked; such 'peregrinations are by no means unusual'.[136] Nevertheless while details of the uses and whereabouts of houses of call in the tailoring trade regularly appeared in Bristol's newspapers, not a single insertion placed by

a shoemaking house of call was found for this period. Contemporary evidence suggests shoemakers used different strategies to find work. Thus, James Lackington recalled that he visited master shoemakers in Bristol in 1791 and addressed them with the words "Pray Sir, have you got any occasion?", a term used by journeymen shoemakers 'when seeking employment'.[137] Likewise, when John Brown arrived in London he did not go to a house of call and register his name, but rather from shop to shop looking for work. Thus, he describes calling at a 'shabby-looking shop' to enquire for work and finding the master 'half drunk'.[138] This type of evidence indicates that employment in the shoemaking trade was normally gained directly from employers. However, this alone did not necessarily mean that tramping was less important in shoemaking than tailoring. In order to assess the relative mobility of these two trades in more detail, quantitative data is required. Although records of tramping are largely qualitative in their nature, the mobility of the two trades can, nevertheless, be assessed by the use of electoral poll books for the period. Bristol poll books listed a voter's name, trade, and geographical location. Since voters who had registered to vote in Bristol were *always* entitled to vote in the city's elections, regardless of where they subsequently moved to, it is possible to measure the ratio of voters resident within and outside Bristol. This makes it possible to assess the mobility of the total electorate and to compare this with mobility levels for shoemakers and tailors. Three poll books survive for this period from the election years of 1774, 1781, and 1784. Data from the poll book for 1754 has also been included in order to gain a greater sense of change over time.[139]

The relatively open nature of the franchise in Bristol in this period means that the Bristol electorate provides a satisfactory sample of mobility for the Bristol population as a whole. This is because the average electorate over the period stood at 5, 585, representing 9 per cent of Bristol's population figure of 60,000 for 1800. The average number of voters over the four years actually resident in Bristol was 4,003, or 7 per cent of Bristol's population figure for 1800.[140] Shoemakers constituted between 5.63 per cent and 6.38 per cent of all voters over this thirty-year period, while tailors made up between 2.84 and 3.06 per cent of the total electorate.[141] Artisans from these two trades gained their voting rights by means of the 'freeman' status that accompanied completion of an apprenticeship in Bristol. This means that the sample provides a good representation of those shoemakers and tailors whose involvement in their trades had originated in Bristol.[142] The figures, however, do not allow a distinction between masters and journeymen; therefore one can expect the figures to under-represent mobility, if anything. Masters were less likely to have been mobile,

considering the time and resources they had spent building up a customer-base in one locality.

Table 2:3 : Out-Voters as a Percentage of the Bristol Electorate (BE), Shoemaker Electorate (SE), and Tailor Electorate (TE), 1754-1784

Year	BE	SE	TE
1754	16%	17%	16%
1774	28%	23%	34%
1781	33%	32%	34%
1784	35%	32%	35%

Source: *The Bristol Poll Book* (1754); *The Bristol Poll Book* (1774); *The Bristol Poll Book* (1781); *The Bristol Poll Book* (1784)

Table 2:3 illustrates the extent to which the Bristol electorate (hereafter BE), the shoemaker electorate (hereafter SE), and the tailor electorate (hereafter TE) represented a mobile populace. It assesses the proportion of voters who lived outside Bristol, a group known as out-voters. By treating the number of shoemakers and tailors as a constituency in themselves, the rate of mobility in these trades can be compared to that of the entire Bristol electorate. This data reveals a marked trend towards greater mobility over the thirty-year period. Thus, the proportion of out-voters in the electorate as a whole more than doubled, rising from 16 per cent in 1754 to 35 per cent in 1784. This reveals that those registered to vote in Bristol were an increasingly mobile population. Thus while just over a quarter (28%) of Bristol's voters did not live in the city in 1774, this had increased to over a third (35%) by 1784. Mobility levels for the tailors in the electorate revealed a similar story. In fact, the proportion of TE out-voters increased even more dramatically than within the electorate as a whole between 1754 and 1774. In these years the proportion more than doubled, rising from 16 to 34 per cent. However, this process appears to have slowed thereafter with the result that there was little further change in 1781 and 1784. Poll book data reveals a snapshot of the location of voters when elections were called. Thus, the TE figures reveal that around one-third of tailors consistently lived outside of Bristol. Yet, although high, these rates of mobility do not appear to have been unique to the tailors in the electorate but were evident throughout the electorate as a whole.

However, despite these generally high rates, table 2:3 shows that shoemakers were slightly less mobile than either the Bristol electorate as a whole or the tailors as a sub-group. This was most evident in 1774 when only 23 per cent of shoemakers were of out-voters, compared to 28 per cent of the whole electorate and 34 per cent of tailors. However, by 1781 and 1784, the rates for shoemakers were, at 32 per cent, only marginally below those of the other groups. Thus, by the 1780s around one-third of shoemakers lived consistently outside Bristol. Although the SE figure dipped below that of the tailors in 1774, it nearly

matched TE mobility rates in the 1780s. This supports the idea that wider tramping links were not established in the shoemaking trade until the 1780s. In addition, SE mobility figures for the period as a whole, support the idea that, despite the absence of evidence concerning houses of call, shoemakers were, nevertheless, almost as well versed in tramping methods as were tailors. While mobility does not necessarily equate to the use of an organised tramping system, it is unlikely that this increase in mobility was not connected to the growth of such a system.

Nevertheless, though high mobility rates among tailors and shoemakers, reinforces the image of the artisan as a mobile, tramping figure, it should be remembered that the entire electorate displayed remarkably similar rates of mobility. These findings are in line with Elizabeth Baigent's extensive socio-economic study of Bristol in the 1770s. Baigent discovered that 'artisans' formed around 60% of the Bristol electorate during the 1774 election.[143] This suggests that the congruity of mobility rates among the three groups may be due to the fact that the electorate was largely composed of artisans. The high level of mobility among the Bristol electorate suggests that Bristol's artisans, regardless of trade, were a highly mobile group.

Mobility rates can be further interrogated by assessing the distribution of out-voters across five clearly defined geographical areas. These figures are represented in Tables 2:4, 2:5, and 2:6, which deal respectively with the BE, SE, and TE constituencies. It is appropriate to begin such an analysis by assessing the proportion of out-voters who were based in the counties of Gloucestershire and Somerset. Figures for Bristol-based voters were based on those who live within the city boundaries, and so excluded voters living locally but in outlying areas. Thus, for example, voters living in Brislington to the south of Bristol, and those based in Kingswood to the north-east of the city, were classed as out-voters despite the fact that they lived in such close proximity to Bristol. Such voters can therefore hardly be represented as examples of a markedly mobile population. Rather, out-voters who resided in Gloucestershire and Somerset (hereafter known as G-S) must be defined as local migrants. This classification is supported by other studies. So, for example, a study of Cardington in Bedfordshire in the 1780s discovered that 50 per cent of all migrants settled within 6 miles of their village of origin.[144] In Bristol, the proportion of local migrants among out-voters is reflected in the number of voters based in the G-S area. (See tables 2:4, 2:5, 2:6). Among the BE, SE, and TE groups there was a tendency over the thirty years for the ratio of out-voters in G-S to drop in line with a corresponding rise in the proportion of out-voters based in London. Among the BE sample the proportion of out-voters based in

Table 2: 4 : Geographic Distribution of the Bristol Electorate (BE), 1754-1784

Group	Bristol	G-S(1)	WC(2)	Lon(3)	SW(4)	Oth.(5)	Total
1754	4, 209	371	47	267	72	26	4, 992
% of vote	84.31%	7.43%	0.94%	5.35%	1.44%	0.52%	100%
% of out-vote	-	47.38%	6%	34.10%	9.2%	3.32%	100%
1774	3, 899	802	113	434	93	43	5, 384
% of vote	72.42%	14.9%	2.1%	8.06%	1.73%	0.8%	100%
% of out-vote	-	54.01%	7.61%	29.23%	6.26%	2.9%	100%
1781	3, 958	899	189	687	124	57	5, 914
% of vote	66.93%	15.2%	3.19%	11.62%	2.1%	0.96%	100%
% of out-vote	-	45.96%	9.66%	35.12%	6.34%	2.91%	100%
1784	3, 947	876	182	856	113	75	6, 049
% of vote	65.25%	14.48%	3.01%	14.15%	1.87%	1.24%	100%
% of out-vote	-	41.67%	8.66%	40.72%	5.38%	3.57%	100%

Source: *The Bristol Poll Book* (1754); *The Bristol Poll Book* (1774); *The Bristol Poll Book* (1781); *The Bristol Poll Book* (1784)

(1) G-S = counties of Gloucestershire and Somerset.

(2) WC = Counties of the West Country, encompassing Wiltshire, Dorset, Hampshire, Devon, and Cornwall.

(3) Lon = London and counties bordering the capital, encompassing Berkshire, Kent, Middlesex, and Surrey, though the major share of the figure came from London itself.

(4) SW = South Wales, including the Border Counties, particularly Herefordshire.

(5) Oth = Other counties not easily defined by region, and refers to voters based largely in the Midlands or in northern counties.

Table 2:5 : Geographic Distribution of the Shoemaker Electorate (SE), 1754-1784

Group	Bristol	G-S(1)	WC(2)	Lon(3)	SW(4)	Oth.(5)	Total
1754	234	23	1	22	1	-	281
% of vote	83.27%	8.18%	0.36%	7.83%	0.36%	-	100%
% of out-vote	-	48.94%	2.13%	46.81%	2.13%	-	100%
1774	255	30	4	38	4	1	332
% of vote	76.81%	9.04%	1.20%	11.45%	1.20%	0.3%	100%
% of out-vote	-	38.96%	5.19%	49.36%	5.19%	1.3%	100%
1781	257	43	10	62	4	-	376
% of vote	68.35%	11.44%	2.66%	16.49%	1.06%	-	100%
% of out-vote	-	36.14%	8.4%	52.1%	3.36%	-	100%
1784	262	40	5	72	6	2	387
% of vote	67.7%	10.34%	1.29%	18.6%	1.55%	0.52%	100%
% of out-vote	-	32%	4%	57.6%	4.8%	1.6%	100%

For sources and a breakdown of the regions, see Table 2:4.

Table 2:6 : Geographic Distribution of Tailor Electorate (TE), 1754-1784

Group	Bristol	G-S(1)	WC(2)	Lon(3)	SW(4)	Oth.(5)	Total
1754	119	10	-	13	-	-	142
% of vote	83.8%	7.05%	-	9.15%	-	-	100%
% of out-vote	-	43.48%	-	56.52%	-	-	100%
1774	98	21	2	26	1	1	149
% of vote	65.77%	14.09%	1.34%	17.45%	0.67%	0.67%	100%
% of out-vote	-	41.18%	3.92%	50.98%	1.96%	1.96%	100%
1781	110	15	4	33	3	2	167
% of vote	65.87%	8.98%	2.4%	19.76%	1.8%	1.2%	100%
% of out-vote	-	26.32%	7.02%	57.89%	5.26%	3.51%	100%
1784	119	19	3	40	2	1	184
% of vote	64.67%	10.33%	1.63%	21.74%	1.09%	0.54%	100%
% of out-vote	-	29.23%	4.62%	61.54%	3.07%	1.54%	100%

For sources and a breakdown of the regions, see Table 2:4.

G-S stood at 47 per cent in 1754, and then grew to 54 per cent in 1774, before falling to 46 per cent in 1781, and 42 per cent in 1784. During the same period, the proportion of the BE sample in London stood at 34 per cent in 1754, before falling to 29 per cent in 1774, and then rising to 35 per cent in 1781 and 41 per cent in 1784. By 1784, therefore, almost as many out-voters lived in London as were based in Gloucestershire and Somerset.

This change was even more pronounced among the SE and TE samples. The proportions of shoemakers based in G-S fell consistently from 49 per cent in 1754, to 39 per cent in 1774, to 36 per cent in 1781, and 32 per cent in 1784. Meanwhile the number of shoemakers based in London grew dramatically as a proportion of out-voters, from 47 per cent in 1754, to 49 per cent in 1774, to 52 per cent in 1781 and 57 per cent in 1784. London was a more significant base for out-voting shoemakers than for the electorate as a whole. Thus, from 1774 onwards far more out-voting shoemakers resided in London than in G-S. This pattern was even more pronounced among the TE sample. Indeed, the proportion of tailors based in London always outweighed those based in G-S. While G-S claimed 43 per cent of TE out-voters in 1754, this fell to 41 per cent in 1774, and then to 26 per cent in 1781 before recovering slightly to 29 per cent in 1784. In the same period the proportions based in London stood at 56 per cent in 1754, before falling slightly to 51 per cent in 1774, and then rising to 58 per cent in 1781, and to 62 per cent in 1784. Thus over half of all out-voting tailors lived in London throughout the entire period, while over half of out-voting shoemakers resided in the capital from the 1780s.

The overall importance of London is revealed by the fact that the ratio of long distance migrants among tailors and shoemakers was not markedly higher than among the electorate as a whole. This is made clear if the proportion of voters based in Bristol and G-S are aggregated to form an expanded *local* population of voters. Thus among the BE sample this local population comprised 92 per cent of voters in 1754, falling to 87 per cent in 1774, to 82 per cent in 1781, and to 80 per cent in 1784. Meanwhile the SE sample produced a similar ratio of 91 per cent in 1754, 86 per cent in 1774, 80 per cent in 1781, and 78 per cent in 1784. The TE sample reveals a slightly different trend, due to the very large proportions based in London, with ratios of 91 per cent in 1754, 80 per cent in 1774, 75 per cent in 1781, and 74 per cent in 1784. That these figures are so similar is an indication of the importance of London as a migratory attraction for shoemakers and tailors. Thus, according to Hobsbawm, when it came to eighteenth-century artisans, London's 'magnetism was exceptional'.[145]

This can be further illustrated by identifying the number of out-voters who were based neither in G-S nor in London. A fairly substantial proportion of Bristol's out-voters were based elsewhere, many of them, in particular, in the West Country and South Wales. In 1754 18 per cent of out-voters lived in areas other than G-S and London, a ratio that stood at 17 per cent in 1774, 19 per cent in 1781 and 18 per cent in 1784. By contrast the proportion of the SE sample not based in G-S or London accounted for just 4 per cent in 1754, rising to 10 per cent by 1784. Among the TE sample 0 per cent were based in these areas in 1754, 8 per cent in 1774 and 10 per cent in 1784. These figures suggest that Hobsbawm's claim that labour migration was 'primarily regional' in this era was less valid for Bristol over time, and, especially from the 1780s.[146] Thus, by the 1780s one in four tailors, who had at some stage in their lives qualified to vote in Bristol, lived further afield than Bristol, Gloucestershire or Somerset. The same was true of approximately one in five of the shoemakers in the sample.

Conclusion

This chapter has shown that the most valuable process in the production of both shoes and clothing was the art of cutting leather or fabric, an operation almost always performed by the master himself or a foreman. Qualitative evidence drawn from trade dictionaries and crime reports, particularly regarding embezzlement, make it clear that shoemaking was largely conducted by journeymen on an outworking basis. The division of labour in both trades was gender-centred in terms of the products made. For both trade dictionaries and newspaper insertions clearly illustrate that shoemakers were normally divided between those making male and female footwear. The same principle operated in the production of clothes. While tailors made largely male clothes, female clothes were produced by the milliners and mantua-makers, as these trades were almost exclusively populated by women according to existing historical studies. The Bristol evidence, however, showed not only that the numbers of these 'female' trades were negligible, but that (male) tailors often made women's dresses and other items. Evidence of female involvement in the Bristol shoemaking trade was practically non-existent, though the prevalence of outworking makes it likely that the wives of shoemakers assisted their husbands. Analysis of tramping showed that shoemakers, but more particularly tailors, were fairly mobile groups, although not substantially more than Bristol's voters as a whole. However, tailors and shoemakers did reveal a more marked tendency to congregate in London than voters as a whole, reinforcing London's image as an epicentre of eighteenth-century artisanal production. Despite this, journeys undertaken by artisans in this period appeared to have been primarily regional, with the obvious exception of the capital. Very few shoemakers and tailors living

outside of Bristol, and possessing the freeman franchise, ventured further than London, Gloucestershire or Somerset. Thus, although the extent of artisan mobility was clearly evident it should not be overstated.

ENDNOTES

[1] R. Campbell, *The London Tradesman* (London, 1747; 1969 Reprint), p. 216.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 216-217.
[3] Campbell, *London Tradesman*, p. 218; Anon., *Book of Trades, or Library of the Useful Arts: Part 2* (London, 1806), p. 90.
[4] *Sarah Farley's Bristol Journal* (hereafter SFBJ) 11/7/1789, 18/7/1789; Bristol Quarter Sessions, 4/7/1789, Bristol Record Office, JQS/P/111.
[5] D. Alexander, *Retailing in England during the Industrial Revolution* (London, 1970), pp. 142-143.
[6] Anon., *Book of Trades*, p. 86.
[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 87-89.
[8] *Felix Farley's Bristol Journal* (hereafter FFBJ) 24/5/1783.
[9] *Bristol Journal* (hereafter BJ) 12/8/1769, BJ 25/5/1771.
[10] *Bristol Gazette* (hereafter Bgaz) 22/6/1775.
[11] BJ 16/3/1771, 16/1/1773, 21/9/1776; *Bonner and Middleton's Bristol Journal* (hereafter BMBJ) 3/8/1776.
[12] Bgaz 24/9/1789,1/10/1789.
[13] *Annual Register* 26/3/1773.
[14] Bgaz 19/9/1799.
[15] Anon., *Book of Trades*, p. 89.
[16] Campbell, *London Tradesman*, p. 218; Anon., *Book of Trades*, p. 89.
[17] Campbell, *London Tradesman*, p. 218.
[18] M. Sonenscher, *Work and Wages: Natural Law, Politics and the eighteenth-century French trades* (Cambridge, 1989), p. 189.
[19] J. F. Rees, *The Art and Mystery of a Cordwainer*, (London, 1813); J. D. Devlin, *The Guide to Trade: The Shoemaker* (London, 1840), p. 9. The latter piece informs us that Rees was a Bristol shoemaker.
[20] Rees, *Art and Mystery*, pp. v-vi (of the preface).
[21] *Ibid.*
[22] J. Lackington, *Memoirs of the First Forty-Five Years of the Life of James Lackington, The present Bookseller in Chiswell-street, Moorfields, London; Written by Himself* (London, 1792) p. 169, 153.
[23] *Ibid.*, p. 180.
[24] Sonenscher, *Work and Wages*, p. 322.
[25] BJ 1/7/1769.
[26] S. Johnson, *A Dictionary of the English Language: Two Volumes* (London, 1755; 1983 reprint).
[27] FFBJ 24/5/1783, 14/6/1788; Bgaz 17/4/1777.
[28] FFBJ 8/6/1771.
[29] Lackington, *Memoirs*, p. 196.
[30] BJ 23/2/1771.
[31] Bgaz 9/3/1780.
[32] Bristol Quarter Sessions, 3/1/1793, JQS/P, Bristol Record Office.
[33] Bgaz 26/3/1772.
[34] Sonenscher, *Work and Wages*, p. 189.
[35] Lackington, *Memoirs*, p. 180.
[36] *Ibid.*
[37] BMBJ 5/7/1777; B.Gaz 10/7/1777.
[38] BMBJ 5/5/1792; 12/5/1792. See Chapter 5 for a full discussion of these strikes.
[39] I. J. Prothero, *Artisans and Politics in Early Nineteenth-Century London: John Gast and his Times* (Folkestone, 1979), p. 24. While Thompson's list of 'true outworkers' included only '*some* boot and shoe workers', Rule considered 'many shoemakers' to be 'representative of the home-based out-worker'. See E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (London, 1963; 1991 edn.), p. 288, *my italics*; J. Rule, *The Experience of Labour in Eighteenth-Century Industry* (London, 1981), p. 31.
[40] J. Rule, 'The Property of Skill in the Period of Manufacture' in P. Joyce (ed.), *The Historical Meanings of Work* (Cambridge, 1987), p. 109; Prothero, *Artisans and Politics*, p. 44.
[41] J. Swann, *Shoemaking* (Princes Risborough, Bucks., 1986), pp. 10-11.
[42] *House of Commons Journals,* 5/3/1722, Vol. 20 (1722-1727), p. 161. A Commons committee was ordered to investigate the complaints of the aforementioned petition, and the following evidence of outwork was established. Charles Reynolds, a London master, opined that he had 'delivered several Materials for making of Shoes *to* his Journeymen' which were subsequently pawned, while William Hall 'seldom had the same Materials worked up as he delivered out to his Workmen'. See *House of Commons Journals,* 26/3/1723, Vol. 20 (1722-1727), p. 180. An Act was brought onto the statute books in 1722, designed to prevent the embezzlement of 'materials used in shoemaking' in London. See Styles, 'Embezzlement, industry and the law', p. 209.
[43] J. Styles, 'Embezzlement, industry and the law in England, 1500-1800' in M. Berg, P. Hudson, and M. Sonenscher, (eds), *Manufacture in town and country before the factory* (Cambridge, 1983), p. 173. Styles

further noted that 'the concentration of the ownership of the raw materials' and the 'remoteness of the owner from the point of manufacture' allowed 'peculiar opportunities for fraud', p. 174.
[44] FFBJ 19/8/1769.
[45] FFBJ 19/8/1769.
[46] Bgaz 28/12/1780.
[47] Styles, 'Embezzlement, industry and the law', p. 177.
[48] SFBJ 1/3/1788.
[49] Bgaz 13/10/1791; FFBJ 15/10/1791.
[50] *Bristol Mercury* (hereafter Bmerc), 18/12/1797.
[51] Rees, *Art and Mystery*, pp. 81-84.
[52] Anon., *Crispin Anecdotes*, p. 46.
[53] A. Clark, *Struggle for the Breeches: Gender and the Making of the British Working Class* (London, 1995), pp. 124-125.
[54] L. A. Tilly and J. W. Scott, *Women, Work, and Family* (New York and London, 1978; 1987 edn.), p. 47; Prothero, *Artisans and Politics*, p. 44.
[55] Campbell, *London Tradesman*, p. 218.
[56] Anon., *Book of Trades*, p. 89.
[57] Lackington, *Memoirs*, p. 197.
[58] *Ibid.*, pp. 207-208.
[59] *Bath Chronicle*, 28/6/1792.
[60] Clark, *Struggle for the Breeches*, pp. 119-120.
[61] Bgaz 1/8/1799.
[62] *Sketchley's Bristol Directory 1775* (1971 reprint); *Mathews's Bristol Directory 1793-4* (Bristol, 1794).
[63] See Page 21 of Chapter One.
[64] BJ 19/1/1771; FFBJ 30/9/1780.
[65] Campbell, *London Tradesman*, p. 192; Anon., *Book of Trades*, p. 81; Prothero, p. 24.
[66] Anon., *Book of Trades*, p. 82.
[67] *Ibid.*, pp. 82-83.
[68] The haberdasher also supplied such appendages to dress as 'buckram, tapes, binding, trimmings, buttons &c'. Anon., *Book of Trades*, p. 85.; Campbell, *London Tradesman*, p. 223.
[69] M. Delpierre, *Dress in France in the Eighteenth Century* (Paris, 1996; trans. by C. Beamish, Yale, 1997), p. 130; Johnson similarly attributed the origin of 'tailor' to the French word *tailler*, meaning 'to cut'. See Johnson, *A Dictionary.*
[70] FFBJ 7/1/1769.
[71] *Ibid.*
[72] SFBJ 12/5/1787.
[73] Bmerc 2/5/1796.
[74] E. Gaskell, *North and South* (1854; Penguin, 1994), p. 53.
[75] Bmerc 13/5/1793.
[76] Bgaz 5/9/1793.
[77] FFBJ 22/11/1800.
[78] SFBJ 12/1/1788.
[79] BJ 27/4/1771.
[80] Bgaz 25/5/1775, 16/11/1775.
[81] SFBJ 7/6/1777.
[82] SFBJ 19/4/1777.
[83] Rule, 'Property of Skill', p. 112, and *Experience of Labour*, p. 36.; Prothero, *Artisans and Politics*, p. 24.
[84] K. Honeyman, *Women, Gender and Industrialisation, 1700-1870* (London, 2000), p. 88.
[85] B. Hill, *Women, work and sexual politics in eighteenth-century England* (Oxford, 1989; 1994 edn.), p. 85.
[86] I. Pinchbeck, *Women Workers and the Industrial Revolution, 1750-1850* (London, 1930; 1969 edn.), p. 287.
[87] Campbell, *London Tradesman*, pp. 206-207.
[88] Tilly and Scott, *Women, Work, and Family*, p. 49.
[89] *Ibid.*, p. 227.
[90] J. Rendall, *Women in an Industrializing Society: England 1750-1880* (Oxford, 1990), p. 29.
[91] Rule, 'Property of Skill', pp. 108-109.; M. Chase, *Early Trade Unionism: Fraternity, Skill, and the Politics of Labour* (Aldershot, 2000), p. 26.
[92] Chase, *Early Trade Unionism*, p. 26.
[93] E. C. Sanderson, *Women and Work in Eighteenth-Century Edinburgh* (London, 1996), pp. 184-194. Sanderson also provided a sample of 107 female servants, apprentices, and journeywomen, as 25 were found in the millinery trade, 14 involved in mantua-making, and 1 in the haberdashery trade. (pp. 195-202) Figures for married women's involvement with work, including that of widows, showed that of 98 women, 11 were milliners and 4 were mantua-makers. (pp. 203-211) The latter information does suggest that such trades were more the preserve of unmarried and young women than of married or widowed women.

[94] While Poll Books offered the most inclusive source for non-elite men, women were of course excluded from the vote in this period.
[95] *Sketchley's Bristol Directory 1775*; *Mathews's Bristol Directory 1793-4*.
[96] Sanderson, *Edinburgh*, pp. 122-123. Even in this scenario widows were dependent on a 'journeyman to take measurements and cut the cloth', since these were 'the two important parts of tailoring' that must be 'done by men'.
[97] Sanderson, *Edinburgh*, p. 123.
[98] Rendall, *Women in an Industrializing Society*, p. 29.
[99] Sanderson, *Edinburgh*, p. 2, 90.
[100] See table two, p. 31.
[101] BJ 7/7/1770, 4/8/1770; Bgaz 9/2/1775; Bmerc 27/9/1790.
[102] FFBJ 7/1/1769; BJ 11/2/1769; Bgaz 3/3/1774; FFBJ 14/5/1774; Bgaz 26/5/1774; FFBJ 30/10/1779; FFBJ 16/8/1783; SFBJ 10/9/1785; Bgaz 18/4/1799.
[103] Bgaz 1/8/1771, 14/11/1771.
[104] Bgaz 2/6/1774; FFBJ 10/2/1776.
[105] SFBJ 12/5/1787, 20/11/1790.
[106] FFBJ 7/5/1774; FFBJ 2/4/1796; Bgaz 5/9/1793; FFBJ 1/10/1796; FFBJ 22/11/1800.
[107] J. R. Farr, *Artisans in Europe, 1300-1914* (Cambridge, 2000), p. 214.
[108] Prothero, *Artisans and Politics*, p. 30.
[109] J. Rule, 'Against Innovation? Custom and Resistance in the Workplace, 1700-1850' in T. Harris, (ed.), *Popular Culture in England 1700-1850* (London, 1995), p. 173.
[110] *Ibid.*, p. 36.
[111] *Ibid.*, pp. 37-38.
[112] Chase, *Early Trade Unionism*, p. 60.
[113] Campbell, *London Tradesman*, p. 193.
[114] BJ 1/12/1770, 8/12/1770.
[115] *Ibid.*
[116] FFBJ 18/5/1771.
[117] FFBJ 15/2/1772, 29/2/1772.
[118] BJ 6/11/1773.
[119] Bgaz 17/11/1774.
[120] Bmerc 11/10/1790.
[121] Rule, 'Against Innovation', p. 181; R. A. Leeson, *Travelling Brothers: The six centuries' road from craft fellowship to trade unionism* (London, 1979), p. 128; E. J. Hobsbawm, *Labouring Men* (London, 1964), p. 34.
[122] Leeson, *Travelling Brothers*, p. 15.
[123] Thompson, *The Making*, p. 219.
[124] W. H. Sewell, *Work and Revolution in France: The Language of Labor from the Old Regime to 1848* (Cambridge, 1980), p. 47.
[125] Farr, *Artisans in Europe*, pp. 146-147.
[126] J. Ehmer, 'Worlds of mobility: migration patterns of Viennese artisans in the eighteenth century' in G. Crossick, (ed.), *The Artisan and the European Town, 1500-1900* (Aldershot, 1997), p. 172.
[127] Rule, 'Against Innovation', p. 181.
[128] J. L. Menetra, *Journal of My Life* (1764; published with an introduction and commentary by D. Roche, New York, 1986), p. 40.
[129] Chase, *Early Trade Unionism*, p. 48.
[130] Hobsbawm, *Labouring Men*, p. 38.; J. D. Chambers, *Population, Economy and Society in Pre-Industrial England* (Oxford, 1972), p. 45. Thus the population of Nottinghamshire villages had changed by 37 per cent between 1606 and 1641.
[131] Rule, 'Against Innovation', p. 173.
[132] Chase, *Early Trade Unionism*, p. 62.
[133] Leeson, *Travelling Brothers*, p. 149.
[134] Leeson, *Travelling Brothers*, pp. 245-246, 96.; Chase, *Early Trade Unionism*, p. 62. For a discussion of tramping as a strike tactic in Bristol, see chapter 5.
[135] Leeson, *Travelling Brothers*, p. 35, 126; Chase, *Early Trade Unionism*, p. 62.
[136] Chase, *Early Trade Unionism*, p. 62.
[137] Lackington, *Memoirs*, p. 458. Although Lackington spoke these words in jest to surprise old friends he had not seen for years, this does not by any means invalidate the worth of his observations.
[138] J. Brown, *Sixty Years' Gleanings from Life's Harvest* (Cambridge, 1858), p. 33.
[139] The Bristol Poll Book (1754); The Bristol Poll Book (1774); The Bristol Poll Book (1781); The Bristol Poll Book (1784). None have survived for the years between 1784 and 1800.
[140] *Ibid.* Thus the total Bristol electorate stood at 4, 992 in 1754, 5, 384 in 1774, 5, 914 in 1781, and 6, 049 in 1784. Meanwhile the numbers resident in Bristol itself stood at 4, 209 in 1754, 3, 899 in 1774, 3, 958 in 1781, and 3, 947 in 1784.

[141] Thus there were 281 shoemakers in 1754, 332 in 1774, 376 in 1781, and 387 in 1784, while there were 142 tailors in 1754, 149 in 1774, 167 in 1781, and 184 in 1784.
[142] Chase, *Early Trade Unionism*, p. 48.
[143] E. Baigent, 'Bristol society in the later eighteenth century with special reference to the handling by computer of fragmentary historical sources', D. Phil thesis, University of Oxford, (1985), p. 337.
[144] Chambers, *Population, Economy, and Society in Pre-Industrial England*, p. 46.
[145] Hobsbawm, *Labouring Men*, p. 58, 39.
[146] *Ibid.*, p. 38. Thus among 105 certificates for Newark artisans found between 1800 and 1850, only 12 came from outside Nottinghamshire. See p. 57.

PART TWO: LIVING AND WORKING CONDITIONS

CHAPTER THREE: THE GEOGRAPHY OF WORK, HOUSING AND OCCUPATIONAL ILLNESS AMONG BRISTOL'S SHOEMAKERS AND TAILORS, 1770-1800

This chapter is concerned with the concentration of the shoemaking and tailoring trades in Bristol in the late eighteenth century, with regard to the distribution of these trades across Bristol's parishes. By assessing patterns of distribution it is possible to deepen our understanding of the two trades in a number of ways, not least because it enables an assessment of the quality of life of the men involved in these trades, and their families. The ability to document where shoemakers and tailors lived helps to answer questions about the types of dwellings inhabited. A range of evidence including autobiographies, crime records and newspapers, as well as pictorial images from the period provides information on these matters. Knowledge of living and working conditions can then be utilised to assess issues of health and to determine whether illnesses were occupational or social in their nature.

DISTRIBUTION

Given that the eighteenth century was a pre-census period, knowledge of the concentration of trades in certain places is largely dependent upon qualitative accounts. Thus, an early nineteenth-century writer on the shoemaking trade talked of Northampton as a place that possessed a 'great number of shoemakers', while Stafford was considered 'the principal mart and manufactory of shoes in England' because there were 'several streets of shoemakers in this town'.[1] With regards to London, John Rees, the Bristol shoemaker, reckoned that there were 'from twenty to thirty thousand' shoemakers in the capital alone in the early nineteenth century, with 'two hundred thousand' in Britain overall.[2] John Brown's account of his life as a London shoemaker illustrated that entire streets could, in some districts, be populated by workers from one trade. Upon arriving in London from Cambridge, Brown headed for 'Grub-street', which he described as a 'quarter where a great number of the trade resided', while, on another occasion, he made for 'Green Arbour Court', a place in which 'many houses' were 'occupied entirely by shoemakers'.[3] Campbell, meanwhile, gave a dramatic illustration to the concentration of tailors in London when he described the men of this trade as being as 'numerous as Locusts'.[4] Such images of London as an artisanal epicentre is further enhanced by a list of the most numerous trades in one single parish. According to Farr, in the late seventeenth century, the parish of St Giles, Cripplegate was home to 996 weavers, 583 shoemakers, 566 tailors and 371 glovers. These proportions, Farr concluded, 'far outnumbered the 211 other manufacturing occupations of the parish'.[5] As this illustrates, pre-census material can lend itself to

quantitative analysis. Nevertheless, parish records are not the most efficient means of surveying the demography of a city because they only throw light on individual parts. Cities, however, were composed of multiple parishes. Bristol, for example, had around twenty parishes in the late eighteenth century, including out-lying ones. In addition, parish records only listed those present at times of birth, marriage and death. In Bristol, with its 'strong and growing tradition of non-conformity' in the eighteenth century, these records were not entirely reliable.[6] On first sight, tax returns appear a useful source for study. However, aside from problems with the administrative efficiency of their collection, exemptions from the rates excluded many journeymen. In addition, the occupation of the tax-payer was 'rarely listed'.[7] Such problems have led one researcher to regret that while Bristol had a 'population of about 55, 000 in 1770' no 'single satisfactory source covers more than 4,000 of them'.[8]

Poll books, because they listed voters by parish and occupation included journeymen as well as masters due to the wide franchise. They, therefore, represent the best source for the purposes of this study. Their utility is further enhanced by the fact that poll books survive for 1754, 1774, 1781, and 1784, thus enabling analysis over time. These have been used to consider the following: the geographic distribution across Bristol's parishes of the electorate as a whole; the distribution of Bristol-based shoemaker voters; and the distribution of Bristol-based tailor voters. The average density per parish of the shoemakers and tailors, as well as the overall density of the two trades in the city, can also be reconstructed using poll book data. While density reveals the weight each trade carried in a particular parish, distribution patterns show the extent to which the trade was concentrated in certain localities.

Of course, given that the poll books did not differentiate between masters and journeymen means that the figures may be skewed by differing trends among masters compared to journeymen. To counteract this problem three Bristol trade directories for the years 1775, 1785, and 1794 have been used to assess the distribution patterns of masters alone. This has allowed a comparison between poll book (hereafter PB) and trade directory (hereafter TD) data. Table 3:1 provides data on the average distribution for the thirty-year period covered by the poll books, and this is further represented in maps 1, 2, and 3 by the use of five gradations to indicate geographical distribution.[9] Table 3:1 also compares the parish distribution at the time of the 1801 census with that of the poll books between 1754 and 1784. The remarkable congruity between these two sets of figures, especially considering that seventeen years separates the poll book of 1784 from 1801, suggests that the poll

books provided a relatively accurate picture of the distribution across the city of the *whole* population. Indeed, the expanding area of Clifton was the only area to show a marked increase in 1801 compared to the PB data. This area aside, the distribution of people among the other parishes is markedly similar in both sources.

As table 3:1 reveals, PB distribution trends for both the shoemaking and tailoring trades appear to mirror the electorate as a whole. Thus, the three parishes with the highest percentage of each population were the same in each category. Thus, 21.54 per cent of all voters lived in St. James, a parish that also claimed 27.61 per cent of shoemakers and 29.15 per cent of tailors. In second place was the parish of St. Philip and Jacob, with 14.84 per cent of the electorate, 18.67 per cent of shoemakers and 11.88 per cent of tailors. St. Mary

Table 3:1 : Average Distribution of Bristol-resident voters, Shoemaker voters (S), and Tailor voters (T) 1754-1784, compared to distribution trends in the 1801 Census

Parish	% of Bristol voters	% of S Bristol voters	% of T Bristol voters	% of 1801 Census returns
All Saints	0.91%	0.4%	0.00	0.34%
Bedminster	2.64%	3.77%	0.9%	-
Castle Precincts	4.1%	3.18%	8.07%	2.63%
Christchurch	2.37%	3.28%	1.35%	1.29%
Clifton	2.99%	1.29%	0.22%	8.3%
St. Augustine	6.7%	2.58%	6.28%	10%
St. Ewen	0.36%	0.1%	0.22%	0.22%
St. James*	21.54%	27.61%	29.15%	22.85%
St. John	2.57%	2.18%	4.48%	1.3%
St. Leonard	0.79%	0.49%	0.22%	0.53%
St. Maryport	1.31%	2.09%	1.12%	0.54%
St. Mary Redcliff	9.13%	10.63%	10.77%	7.7%
St. Michael	4.4%	3.77%	6.05%	5.19%
St. Nicholas	5.43%	1.79%	4.48%	3.44%
St. Peter	2.93%	2.98%	2.69%	2.92%
St. Philip & Jacob	14.84%	18.67%	11.88%	20.05%
St. Stephen	4.4%	2.58%	3.36%	3.28%
St. Thomas	4.76%	2.88%	2.69%	2.23%
St. Werburgh	0.79%	0.00	0.68%	0.27%
Temple	7.04%	9.73%	5.39%	6.92%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

Source: Bristol Poll Books, 1754, 1774, 1781, and 1784. For the 1801 census, W. Page (ed.), *The Victoria History of the County of Gloucester: Volume Two* (London, 1907), pp. 186-187.

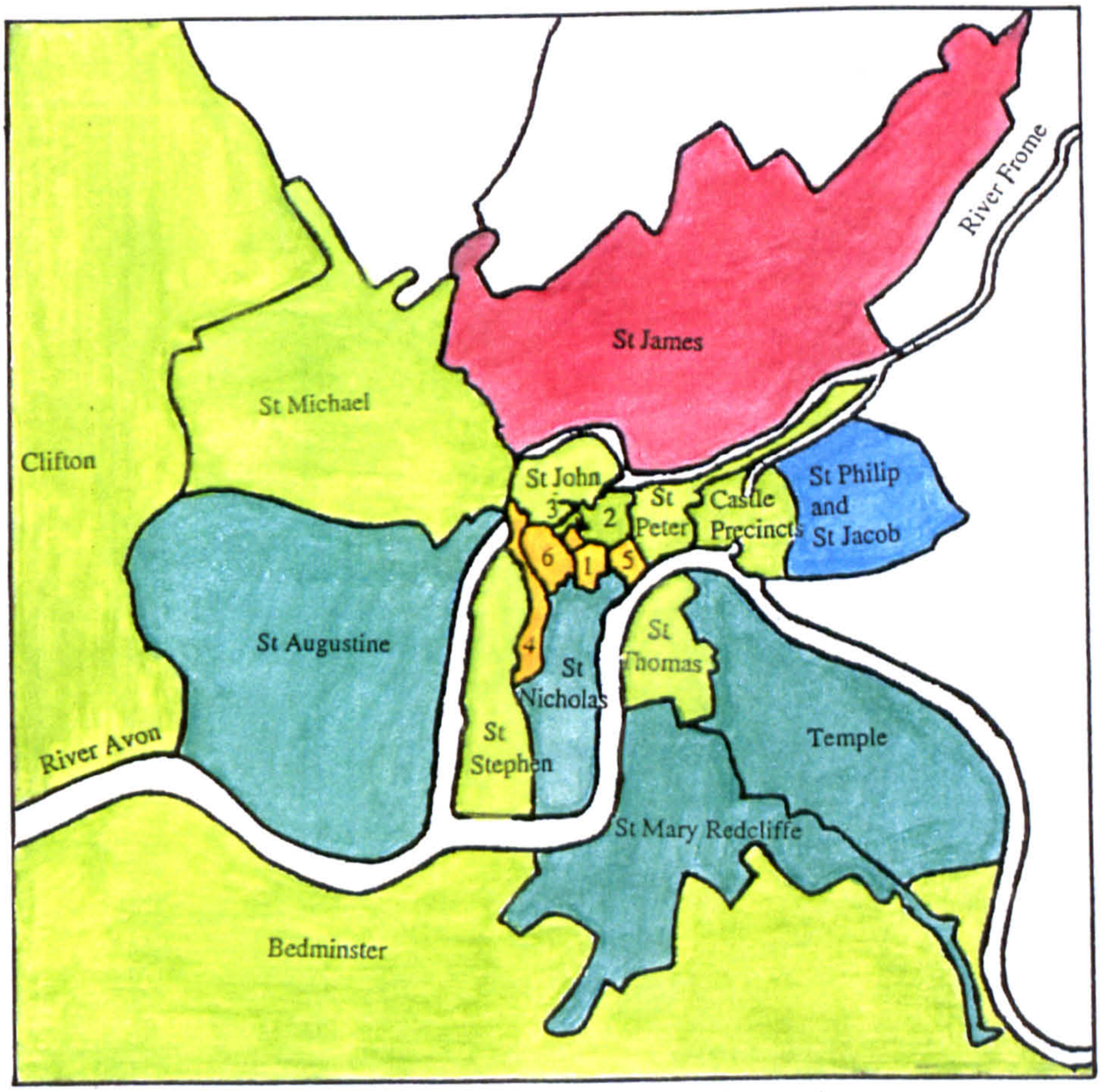
* Given that St. Paul was formed in 1794 out of a section of St. James, those listed as living in St. Paul in 1801 were added to the inhabitants of St. James in order to give a commensurate figure for this area.

Redcliffe occupied third place, with 9.13 per cent of all voters, 10.63 per cent of shoemakers and 10.77 per cent of tailors. Thus, these three parishes together claimed 45.51 per cent of total voters, 56.91 per cent of shoemakers and 51.8 per cent of tailors. Thus, the concentration of the two trades in these three areas was even more pronounced than it was for voters as a whole.

This picture is best illustrated by comparing maps 1, 2, and 3. For ease of description the five gradations can be summarised as follows: as either high distribution (20.00% and over), fairly high distribution (10.00-19.99%), medium distribution (5.00-9.99%), fairly low distribution (2.00-4.99%), and low distribution (0.00-1.99%). The following picture emerges. Firstly, the parish of St. James was the only one Bristol's twenty parishes to experience high levels of distribution among the three groupings. This can be explained by the fact that, according to Baigent, 60 per cent of the 1770s electorate were artisans. St. James was also one of the parishes which Baigent labelled as an 'artisan parish'.[10] Baigent's survey also listed St. Peter, St. Philip and Jacob, St. Thomas, Temple, and St. Mary Redcliff as 'artisan parishes' and concluded that these constituted the 'unfashionable southern and eastern' edges 'of the city'.[11] St. Philip was the only parish to experience a fairly high distribution level among all voters, while both this parish and St. Mary Redcliff yielded fairly high distribution levels among both shoemakers and tailors. In fact the importance of artisans to the electorate as a whole explains why four of the six parishes with the highest voter distribution levels were 'artisan' parishes. The artisan parishes of Temple and St. Mary Redcliff experienced medium levels of distribution, compared to the high levels seen in St. James and St. Philip. Meanwhile, medium levels of distribution in St. Augustine and St. Nicholas represented the highest levels of distribution in any of the non-artisan parishes. This picture is reinforced by the fact that Bristol's shoemakers were particularly concentrated in the artisan parishes of St. James, St.Philip, and St. Mary Redcliff. Indeed, distribution of shoemakers among non-artisan parishes never went beyond a fairly low level of distribution. While the tailors repeated this trend for the 'artisan' areas of the east and south, and for the central non-artisan area, their medium level of distribution in the parishes of St. Michael and St. Augustine slightly bucked this trend.

While these findings appear to indicate that shoemakers and tailors congregated in 'artisan' parishes in greater proportions than the electorate as a whole, it is necessary, nevertheless to consider change over time. The most convenient way of analysing this, given the varying sizes of Bristol's parishes, is to break the city into three sectors. Baigent's socio-economic breakdown was used for this purpose. The eastern parishes of St. James, St. Peter, Castle Precincts, and St. Philip and Jacob were defined as 'artisan parishes', as were the parishes south of the River Avon, namely Temple, St. Thomas, St. Mary Redcliff and Bedminster. The remaining parishes of central Bristol and those on the western fringes of the city were described by Baigent as either 'wealthy trading parishes' or as 'genteel

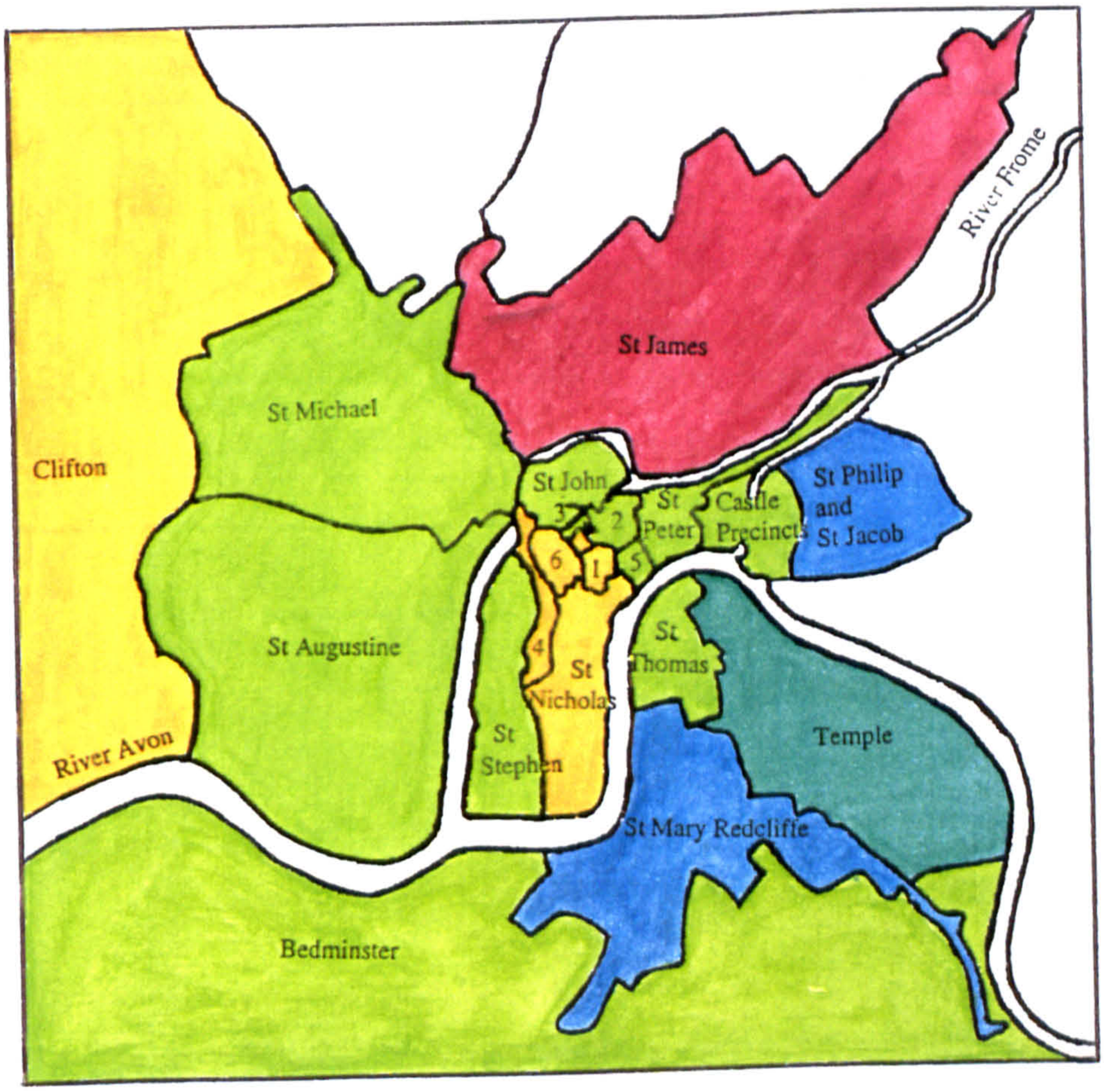
Map 1: Average Distribution of Bristol's voters among Parishes in Parliamentary Elections, 1754-1784



1 All Saints
2 Christ Church
3 St Ewen
4 St Leonard
5 St Mary le Port
6 St Werburgh

0.00-1.99%
2.00-4.99%
5.00-9.99%
10.00-19.99%
20.00% and over

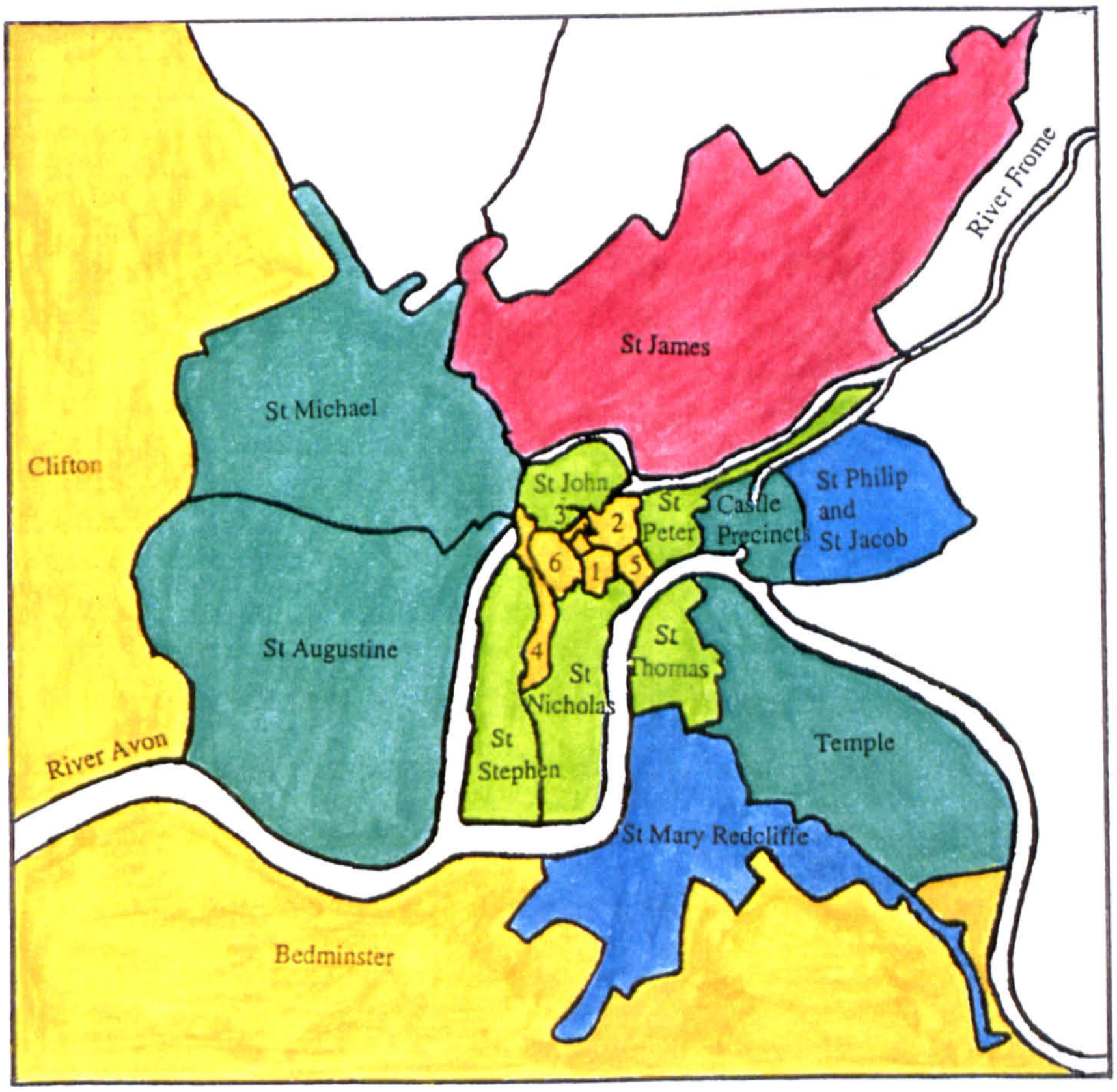
Map 2: Average Distribution of Bristol's Shoemaker voters among Parishes in Parliamentary Elections, 1754-1784



1 All Saints
2 Christ Church
3 St Ewen
4 St Leonard
5 St Mary le Port
6 St Werburgh

0.00-1.99%
2.00-4.99%
5.00-9.99%
10.00-19.99%
20.00% and over

Map 3: Average Distribution of Bristol's Tailor voters among Parishes in Parliamentary Elections, 1754-1784



1 All Saints
2 Christ Church
3 St Ewen
4 St Leonard
5 St Mary le Port
6 St Werburgh

0.00-1.99%
2.00-4.99%
5.00-9.99%
10.00-19.99%
20.00% and over

suburban parishes'. Thus, for the purposes of this study they have been defined as non-artisan parishes.[12] Table 3:2 illustrates the distribution of Bristol voters, shoemaker voters and tailor voters across these three sectors during each of the four years under analysis. This reveals that shoemaker voters were more likely to live in 'artisan' parishes over time.

Table 3:2 : The Distribution of the electorate, shoemakers, and tailors between three areas of Bristol, 1754-1784

Area/Year	No. of voters	% of Bristol voters	No. of S voters	% of S Bristol vote	No. of T voters	% of T Bristol vote
Eastern 1754	1, 679	41%	114	48.72%	49	41.18%
Southern	945	23.08%	59	25.21%	22	18.48%
Non-artisan	1, 471	35.92%	61	26.07%	48	40.34%
Total 1754	4, 095	100%	234	100%	119	100%
Eastern 1774	1, 682	43.14%	138	54.12%	62	63.26%
Southern	944	24.21%	69	27.06%	16	16.33%
Non-artisan	1, 273	32.65%	48	18.82%	20	20.41%
Total 1774	3, 899	100%	255	100%	98	100%
Eastern 1781	1, 799	45.45%	139	54.08%	58	52.73%
Southern	907	22.92%	72	28.02%	24	21.82%
Non-artisan	1, 252	31.63%	46	17.9%	28	25.45%
Total 1781	3, 958	100%	257	100%	110	100%
Eastern 1784	1, 742	44.14%	137	52.29%	62	52.1%
Southern	951	24.09%	72	27.48%	26	21.85%
Non-artisan	1, 254	31.77%	53	20.23%	31	26.05%
Total 1784	3, 947	100%	262	100%	119	100%

Source: Bristol Poll Books, 1754, 1774, 1781, and 1784.

Thus, while 74 per cent of shoemakers lived in the eastern and southern sectors in 1754, this had risen to 81 per cent by 1774 and to 80 per cent by 1784. By comparison, only 64 per cent of all Bristol's voters lived in these areas in 1754, a proportion that had risen slightly to 67 per cent by 1774 and which stood at 68 per cent in both 1781 and 1784. Of course, one can expect shoemakers to have been more concentrated in 'artisan' areas than voters as a whole, since shoemakers constituted a group that was exclusively 'artisan' while only 60 per cent of all voters were artisans. This also explains why so few of the city's shoemakers were based in non-artisan areas. In 1774, for example, only 19 per cent of shoemakers were based in non-artisan areas, compared to 33 per cent of all voters.

The residential distribution of tailors also experienced change over time. While only 60 per cent of tailors resided in 'artisan' areas in 1754, a marked increase had occurred by 1774 when the figure had risen to 80 per cent. Thereafter, it remained high but settled down to 75 per cent in 1781 and 74 per cent in 1784. Differences between tailors and shoemakers may have been the result of the importance of the house of call in the former trade and, related to this, the changing location of such houses of call. Information on the location of various houses of call (see table 2:2) seems to support this. Of the twenty insertions for houses of call contained therein, ten referred to houses in non-artisan areas, especially in

Christchurch in central Bristol. However, seven of these ten insertions for houses in non-artisan areas occurred either in 1773 or before that year. By comparison, of the twelve adverts which appeared between November 1773 and March 1796, eight referred to houses in St. James and only four to houses in non-artisan areas. The fact that houses of call were more concentrated in the 'artisan' parish of St. James after 1773 may well have been linked to the growing proportion of tailors in the eastern sector. This hypothesis is further strengthened by the decline in numbers of tailors in non-artisan areas by 1774, compared to the levels seen in 1754. In 1754 only one less tailor resided in the non-artisan areas compared to the eastern sector; thus, 40 per cent of tailors lived in non-artisan areas. However, by 1774, the proportion of tailors based in non-artisan areas had fallen by 20 per cent, while the proportion claimed by the eastern sector had risen from 41 per cent to 63 per cent. This tends to suggest that tailors lived fairly near to where they were able to obtain work. Indeed, the fact that work was gained on a 'daily or half-daily engagement basis' in this period, therefore 'demanded housing in proximity to places of potential work'.[13]

The fact that greater proportions of all three groups were based in eastern areas of the city is, no doubt, linked to the fact that these parishes were growing in this period. While the number of Bristol resident voters fell from 4, 095 in 1754 to 3, 947, a decrease of 3.6 per cent, the eastern parishes were flourishing. In St. Philip & Jacob, for example, the number of voters increased by 11 per cent in the same period, while in St. James the corresponding increase was 16 per cent.[14] In St. Stephen numbers of voters fell by 50 per cent between 1754 and 1784, while in the same period those in Christchurch fell by 35 per cent.[15] Therefore, movements of shoemakers, and especially of tailors, was part of a broader shift in Bristol's population away from the central areas and to the eastern fringes. This picture is substantiated by the views of contemporaries. Thus, for example, Mathews mentions in the preface to his 1794 Bristol directory that since 1758 'the increase of houses' in Bristol 'has been without intermission', and he made particular mention of expansion in the eastern parishes.[16] By April 1791, Bristol's building boom was such that *Felix Farley's Bristol Journal* remarked; 'so great is the spirit of building in this city and its environs that we hear ground is actually taken for more than 3000 houses'.[17] Overall, the developments represented in table 3:2 indicate that between 1754 and 1784 there was a growing trend for greater numbers of shoemakers and tailors to reside in areas populated by other artisans. In other words, men of these two trades were more likely to live next to men of a similar social rank in 1784 than they had in 1754.

However, this analysis is limited by the fact poll book data did not differentiate between journeymen and masters. Yet, the distribution of masters may have differed from that of journeymen. The best means of investigating this is to analyse trade directories for the period. These only listed masters and therefore provide a useful comparative source to the poll books. Although trade directories listed streets of residence rather than parish, these were linked to specific parishes by cross-reference with early nineteenth-century rate books.[18] The first trade directory did not appear in Bristol until 1775. However, further directories issued in 1785 and 1794 permitted comparison over time. The data thus gathered has again been presented in terms of the eastern, southern, and non-artisan sectors of the city. Table 3:3 illustrates the distribution trends of Bristol's master shoemakers and tailors.

Table 3:3 : The distribution of Master shoemakers and tailors between three areas of Bristol, 1775-1794

Area/Year	No. of master shoemakers	% of all master shoemakers	No. of master tailors	% of all master tailors
Eastern 1775	62	53.91%	50	52.08%
Southern	24	20.87%	13	13.54%
Non-artisan	29	25.22%	33	34.38%
Total 1775	115	100%	96	100%
Eastern 1785	35	57.38%	40	52.63%
Southern	11	18.03%	8	10.53%
Non-artisan	15	24.59%	28	36.84%
Total 1785	61	100%	76	100%
Eastern 1794	28	42.42%	42	47.19%
Southern	11	16.67%	12	13.48%
Non-artisan	27	40.91%	35	39.33%
Total 1794	66	100%	89	100%

Sources: *Sketchley's Bristol Directory 1775* (1971 reprint); *The Bristol Directory* (Bristol, 1785); *Mathews's Bristol Directory 1793-4* (Bristol, 1794).

Surprisingly, perhaps, the geographic distribution across these three sectors derived from the data gathered from the directories does not differ greatly from that revealed by the PB data. Thus 54 per cent of masters were based in the eastern sector in 1775, compared to 54 per cent of all shoemakers in 1774. In 1785, 57 per cent of masters were based here compared to 52 per cent of shoemakers listed in poll books in 1784. However, fewer master shoemakers were based in the southern sector in both 1775 and 1785 compared to the PB data for 1774 and 1784. By contrast, more master shoemakers were based in the non-artisan sector compared to shoemakers listed in the PB data. While 25 per cent of masters were based in these areas in 1775 and 1785, only 19 per cent and 20 per cent of shoemakers listed in the poll books were based there in 1774 and 1784. It is perhaps surprising that master shoemakers were more evenly distributed across the city, given their need to find a client base. After all, as Hobsbawm and Scott state, all members of the community required the skills of the shoemaker.[19] It is particularly surprising that only 25

per cent of master shoemakers were based in non-artisan areas in 1775 and 1785. Given that the central areas of Bristol contained many of the most important trading and shopping districts, such as Wine Street in the parish of Christchurch which was a 'fashionable shopping area' in this period.[20] These figures appear to reflect a demarcation within the ranks of the masters themselves. Thus, while three-quarters of masters in 1775 and 1785 were based in the artisan sectors, one-quarter were based in the richer areas of central and western Bristol.

These figures reflect a pattern described by Rule with regards to shoemaking and tailoring in London. Rule contrasts the richer parts of the trade able to afford rented premises in 'respectable areas' of the city with the 'hundreds of small independent shoemakers' who were based in small 'garrets'.[21] This appears to have been replicated in Bristol. Here, the majority of masters operated in 'artisan' areas and presumably catered to the needs of the socio-economic groups contained therein, while masters based in non-artisan areas catered to groups of a higher social status. Table 3:3 indicates that in the long term masters who could afford to operate in the non-artisan areas were more successful than those based in the eastern sector. Thus, between 1775 and 1785 the number of master shoemakers fell from 115 to 61, a decrease of 47 per cent, at the same time as the number of shoemaker voters increased from 255 to 262. These figures indicate that marked changes in the trade were particularly affecting masters, for the PB data indicates that the demand for labour in the shoemaking trade was not in decline. This picture suggests that poorer masters based in the eastern and southern sectors were being squeezed over the period. As a result, while there were 62 masters in the eastern sector in 1775, this number had fallen to 35 by 1785 and to just 28 in 1794. By this time masters in this area represented just 42 per cent of all masters. By contrast masters in non-artisan areas represented a consistent 25 per cent of the total. Thus, while 29 masters operated in this area in 1775 only fell to 27 by 1795, by which time masters in these areas constituted 41 per cent of the city's total. Therefore, while the number of masters was falling in absolute terms, the numbers in the non-artisan sector were holding up and by 1794 had increased in terms of the proportion of all masters. This may have been due to the demands created by the American War (1775-83), which, while ensuring that the shoemaking trade as a whole was kept busy with orders, may have benefited richer masters based in the central areas more than the smaller masters. In April 1784, for example, the wholesaling firm of Bence and Lock, situated in Wine-street in the central shopping area of Christchurch, were said to have 'Five Hundred Men at Work'.[22] The war may, therefore, have given businesses able to meet large orders a real boost, and may have contributed to the process whereby many journeymen were producing ready-

made shoes for the warehouse trade. This process would have undoubtedly have had the effect of squeezing many smaller and perhaps forced some of them out of business.

By contrast the figures for tailors in table 3:3 showed less fluctuations over time and this may well have been a product of the fact that ready-made production did not predominate in the tailoring trade to the extent that it did in shoemaking. Thus, tailoring may not have been so affected by the American War as shoemaking. One possible result of this was that the market for tailors' wares was more stable than that in shoemaking in this period. Despite this, changes were evident. Thus, the non-artisan area accounted for 34 per cent of masters in 1775, 37 per cent in 1785 and 39 per cent by 1794. This highlights the importance of renting in prosperous areas, as well as the fact that masters able to operate in these areas were more successful. Thus, while the number of masters fell from 96 in 1775 to 76 in 1785, a decrease of 21 per cent, the actual share taken by the non-artisan sector increased from 34 per cent to 37 per cent. However, the eastern sector represented the market that the majority of masters (52%) catered to in both 1775 and 1785, and even as late as 1794 a healthy 47 per cent of master tailors catered to this market.

The story for both trades suggests that over this period there the proportion of masters in the artisan sectors declined and simultaneously increased in the non-artisan sectors of the city where wealthier customers resided. Thus, Baigent describes Clifton, St. Augustine, and St. Michael as 'genteel suburban parishes' possessing 'notable concentrations of the gentry, professional men and those in high status employments'.[23] The 'central areas' are described by Baigent as 'wealthy trading parishes that incorporated 'high numbers of professional men'.[24] It is, therefore, unsurprising that masters should have targeted this clientele, and there is evidence that master tailors were particularly disposed to making the most of these connections. Thus, for example, the tailoring firm of Moran, Burnell, and Morgan, based near 'QUEEN-SQUARE', particularly thanked 'the Ladies and Gentlemen of Bristol, Hot-Wells and Clifton' for their custom in April 1796.[25] Likewise, tailor Robert Tripp, based at the 'QUAY' and thus also near Clifton, boasted that he had received custom from 'the first Nobility and Gentlemen's Families' in November 1800.[26] This type of evidence suggests that the importance of geography was of more pertinence to masters than journeymen.

DENSITY

While distribution trends inform our understanding of the manner in which the shoemaking and tailoring trades were spread across the city, density levels aid our knowledge of the

weight these trades carried in the three areas of Bristol. Knowledge of density levels can, therefore, aid our understanding of the economic importance of each trade in the different areas of Bristol. This information will also prove useful later in the thesis because density levels assist our understanding of strikes and election activities. Table 3:4 displays the density levels of each trade within the electorate across the eastern, southern and non-artisan sectors of Bristol in 1754, 1774, 1781, and 1784. The density levels of the shoemaking trade reveals that they were largely located within a predominantly artisanal milieu. Thus, shoemakers in non-artisan areas never constituted more than 4 per cent of the electorate in that area, while in the eastern and southern sectors they made up between 7 and 8 per cent of the voting populace. If the data contained in the poll books was representative of the entire population then shoemaking represented a major factor in Bristol's trade. Shoemakers constituted around 6.5 per cent of all voters in 1774, 1781, and 1784. Given Baigent's conclusion that 60 per cent of voters were artisans, it is possible to conclude that shoemakers accounted for over 10 per cent of the artisanal electorate.

Table 3:4 : Shoemakers and Tailors as a proportion of the Bristol-resident electorate, 1754-1784

Area	No. of Voters	No. of S Voters	% of voters in parish	No. of T Voters	% of voters in parish
Eastern 1754	1, 679	114	6.8%	49	2.9%
Southern	945	59	6.2%	22	2.3%
Non-artisan	1, 471	61	4.1%	48	3.3%
Total 1754	**4, 095**	**234**	**5.7%**	**119**	**2.9%**
Eastern 1774	1, 682	138	8.2%	62	3.7%
Southern	944	69	7.3%	16	1.7%
Non-artisan	1, 273	48	3.8%	20	1.6%
Total 1774	**3, 899**	**255**	**6.5%**	**98**	**2.5%**
Eastern 1781	1, 799	139	7.7%	58	3.2%
Southern	907	72	7.9%	24	2.6%
Non-artisan	1, 252	46	3.7%	28	2.2%
Total 1781	**3, 958**	**257**	**6.5%**	**110**	**2.8%**
Eastern 1784	1, 742	137	7.9%	62	3.6%
Southern	951	72	7.6%	26	2.7%
Non-artisan	1, 254	53	4.2%	31	2.5%
Total 1784	**3, 947**	**262**	**6.6%**	**119**	**3%**

Source: Bristol Poll Books, 1754, 1774, 1781, and 1784.

Density levels among the tailors reveal that they were a proportionally less significant group in Bristol than shoemakers. Thus, tailors accounted for between 2.5 and 3 per cent of all voters. However, their numbers did represent 5 per cent of the artisanal electorate, suggesting that they were by no means insignificant. Changing density levels between 1754 and 1774 in the eastern and non-artisan sectors again reinforce changing patterns brought about by the relocation of the houses of call network. While tailors constituted 3.3 per cent of all voters in non-artisan areas in 1754 this had fallen to 1.6 per cent by 1774. At the same time, density levels in the eastern sector rose from 2.9 per cent in 1754 to 3.7 per

cent in 1774. That these levels of density in the eastern parishes were more or less maintained in 1781 and 1784 suggests that the gravitation of tailors to these parts of the city was not merely a temporary phenomenon.

Unfortunately, due to the absence of research in this area, it is difficult to compare the density levels for shoemaking and tailoring in Bristol with that of other urban centres in this period. Nevertheless, one study provides a useful comparison. This is an assessment of occupations within the Westminster franchise for 1784. In Westminster, tailors and shoemakers constituted 4.9 and 4.8 per cent respectively of a franchise that was importantly based solely on 'male householders assessed to pay rates'.[27] Unlike the Bristol franchise the Westminster electorate was unlikely to have included any journeymen, meaning that the actual density of shoemakers and tailors in Westminster was likely to have been far higher than that in Bristol.

HOUSING

Knowledge of the distribution of shoemakers and tailors across the city can help our understanding of the types of houses such artisans would have inhabited. The types of dwellings that shoemakers lived and worked in can be gauged by consulting the many shoemaker autobiographies, as well as by examining a range of other evidence such as crime reports. The questions to be asked are whether living and working space were one and the same, and what differences there were between the respective living quarters of journeymen and masters and between single and married men.

The classic account of the lives of single young artisans, in the 'garrets', largely arises from autobiographical accounts based on experiences in the London shoemaking trade. While one cannot assume that London experiences were simply replicated in Bristol, it is nevertheless worth detailing this evidence to compare with albeit less explicit evidence from Bristol itself. George Bloomfield was a London journeyman who sometime during the 1790s took his younger brother Robert, later to become famous for his poetry, from rural Suffolk to London to teach him the shoemaking trade. Writing in 1800, George Bloomfield stated that it was 'customary in such houses as let to poor people in London to have light garrets fit for mechanics to work in'.[28] The 'garret' used by the Bloomfield's was shared by five men in total. They lived, worked and slept in this space even though the room only contained 'two turn-up beds'.[29] Even by the standards of the day this was less than ideal and George Bloomfield described life in the garret as 'far from being clean and snug'.[30] John Brown's experiences in the capital in the early years of the nineteenth

century also told of the multi-purpose use of lodgings in the shoemaking trade. Brown found a grocer's shop which offered 'lodgings for single men', and here he shared a room with another shoemaker. This room served multiple purposes being a 'shop, parlour and sleeping apartment', and Brown describes how the bed was 'turned up in the day to give us room to move about and do our work'.[31] Such arrangements were apparently not unusual. Thus, Brown mentioned another lodgings where he shared a 'garret' with another shoemaker. The room was only 'nine feet by six' and was 'barely high enough' to 'stand upright in'. Despite these drawbacks it contained a 'turn-up bedstead', a 'small German stove', a 'cupboard' that had a 'flat top' for use as a working surface, and 'two shoemaker's seats' that were used for working.[32] London's shoemakers therefore had to make the best of cramped conditions.

Of course, as Henry Winks, a nineteenth-century scholar of the trade, has observed the propensity for journeymen to share a 'garret' that 'served both as workshop and bedroom' was largely due to the fact that it lessened 'the burden of rent'.[33] Johnson defined the 'garret' as literally 'a room on the highest floor of the house'.[34] In many cases, however, this was not literally so. Rather, the idea of shoemakers occupying a 'garret' has in many ways become a shorthand term for saying that shoemakers lived in cramped conditions. Nineteenth-century writers attached to the trade, at times, almost romanticised the life of the shoemaker in his 'garret'. Thus, Robert Bloomfield described his work as 'garret poetry', while James Devlin began his treatise on the trade by lamenting that the 'occupation of the garret has no attraction to the proprietor of the parlour'.[35] Of course, Bloomfield's writing would have had less appeal if it had been called 'cramped-room poetry', thus reflecting the way in which 'garret' had become a shorthand term for cramped conditions in general.

This was particularly the case with regards to nineteenth-century accounts that were based largely on London experiences. By comparison, the Bristol experience illustrated examples of shared lodgings that were rarely referred to as 'garrets'. Indeed, the only evidence of the use of garrets in Bristol in this period comes in April 1776 when John Antrobus, a Bristol 'clogmaker', gave evidence at Bristol Quarter Sessions against Joseph Townshend for using his 'Garrett (*sic*)' to conceal stolen goods.[36] However, absence of the term 'garret' did not mean that Bristol's shoemakers inhabited salubrious dwellings by comparison to their London counterparts. Rather, the picture in Bristol was largely one of shared lodgings. In the early 1770s, for example, James Lackington shared lodgings with fellow shoemakers John Jones and his brother in both St. Philip and Castle Precincts, both of

which were in the 'artisan sector' in eastern Bristol.[37] Lackington described his lodging room in Castle-street, in the parish of Castle Precincts, as 'a much more decent residence than commonly falls to the lot of journeymen shoemakers'.[38] However, this comment implies that Lackington had just struck lucky. Perhaps this compensated for his earlier experiences in St. Philip where he and Jones had lived and worked in a room that 'over-looked the Church-Yard' with a view dominated by the 'frequency of newly-opened graves'.[39]

Shoemaking brothers Joseph and Henry Bayly described their living quarters as 'lodgings in Lewins Mead', a road situated in the eastern 'artisan' parish of St. James. Their statement arose from their testimonies, given in October 1784 at Bristol Quarter Sessions, into the murder of Rebecca Buller, a fellow lodger who had lived in a nearby room. Their evidence further illustrates the close proximity in which lodgers lived; Buller had time to enter the Baylys' room 'in a bloody condition' before she died, and the brothers were able to apprehend the attacker before he could escape.[40]

By contrast with the experience of single journeymen, the living and working arrangements of married journeymen was rather more varied. Marriage tended to encourage a greater level of home comfort, including furnished quarters, as well as a greater likelihood of a separation between home and work. When James Lackington married his wife in Bristol in the early 1770s, for example, the newly-weds moved into 'ready-furnished lodgings' at a charge of 'half-a-crown per week'.[41] Evidence from court records reveals that some married journeymen lodged in rooms above public houses. In March 1776, for instance, evidence given at the Gloucestershire Assizes revealed that William West and James Towling, both shoemakers, occupied separate lodgings with their wives 'on the same Floor' of 'The Lamb' public house in St. Philip and Jacob.[42] Giving evidence to the court in the trial of West, for the murder of his wife Mary, Towling stated that the two couples usually breakfasted together even though they had only known each other for 'about ten weeks'.[43] In March 1786 Charles Allen, a shoemaker, mentioned in court testimony that he rented 'a Room', which he shared with his wife, at a public house called the 'Three Cups' in Temple Street in the artisan parish of Temple.[44]

While Lackington and his wife both worked at the trade in their lodgings, some married journeymen were able to separate their workplace from their home.[45] Thus, James Towling testified that on the day West had allegedly murdered his wife, the two men 'went after breakfast together' to work and left their wives 'at home'.[46] It is likely that Towling meant

by this that he and West had a room elsewhere to work, perhaps shared with other journeymen, rather than working on the premises of an employer. This seems to have been the practice of at least some other shoemakers. Thus, for example, after Robert Bloomfield had married in the late 1790s in London, he nevertheless shared a 'garret' elsewhere with 'six or seven other workmen' for his daily work.[47] This type of evidence illustrates that some *married* journeymen shoemakers wished to keep their working and living quarters separate, especially in cases where a wife did not assist her husband's work. However, qualitative evidence suggests that the separation of home from work was not always possible. Thus, the living conditions of married journeymen with children were often very cramped. In October 1772, for example, George Browning was faced with arrest by a night watchman as he 'swore he would kill the first man which entered his room', suggesting that he occupied a single room. This single room dwelling was located in St. Mary Redcliff, an artisan parish in the southern part of the city, and was shared with a wife and at least two children; the report mentioned that 'his wife was sitting by the fire feeding her *youngest* child'.[48] Cramped living space was again highlighted during the trial of Jenkins, a Bristol shoemaker, for the murder of his wife in May 1785. The report of the crime noted that Jenkins's wife had been 'in bed with her four little ones' with a board 'fixed in the side of the bed to keep the children from falling out', suggesting that bedding and space were at a premium.[49] Naturally, the larger families were the more cramped conditions became. If the claims of journeymen made during strikes were to be believed, many families were indeed large. In May 1777, for example, Bristol's journeymen shoemakers claimed that many of them had to provide for a 'Wife and five or seven Children'.[50] Similarly, in May 1773, journeymen tailors claimed that it 'is often the Case' that they needed to support 'a Wife and 4 or 5 Children'.[51] The journeymen therefore claimed that it was not unusual to have households that ranged in size between six and nine individuals.

Such claims can be verified by recourse to quantitative evidence compiled by contemporaries. In 1781, for example, James New, vicar of St. Philip and Jacob, calculated the numbers of people per dwelling in his parish. Table 3:5 presents this data in terms of dwellings rather than 'houses'. This was a classification that New himself stipulated because many properties were divided into rooms for lodging. New's account of 1, 577 'houses' seems rather too high considering that in 1751 only 363 houses had been rated for the land tax in that parish. Given that approximately 25 per cent of houses were exempt from this tax for various reasons, this suggests there were 453 houses in St. Philip in 1751. Yet, according to New's figures the number of houses in St. Philip had increased by 1, 124, or 248 per cent, while the entire Bristol population only increased by 26 per cent, from 43,

275 to 53, 677, during the half century from 1751 to 1801.[52] It therefore seems most likely that New's calculations were more concerned with individual households inhabiting separate dwellings, whether that was an entire property or merely a lodging room.

Table 3:5 presents the material drawn from James New's survey. On the basis of this evidence, it seems that the average number of people per household in St. Philip, an artisanal parish, was approximately six. This suggests that the journeymen were not exaggerating in their estimate of family size. This finding is further corroborated by the calculations made by Sketchley in 1775 for a number of streets in various parishes. (See table 3:6). Sketchley's survey reveals an average number of people per household of 5.7.

Table 3:5 James New's calculation of people per dwelling in St. Philip & Jacob, 1781

Street	No. of Dwellings	No. of People	Average per Dwelling
Old Market	177	1, 002	5.7
Careys lane	87	502	5.8
Church Lane	209	1, 364	6.5
Other Streets	1, 104	6, 898	6.2
Total	1, 577	9, 766	6.2

Source: James New, *An Account of the Houses and Inhabitants of the Parish of St. Philip & Jacob in the City of Bristol* (Bristol, 1781). B.R.L. B33284.

This was close to the national average: in 1801 the national average stood at 5.6 'persons per house'.[53] However, both Sketchley's figures and the national average appear to relate to independent households, rather than entire houses. Thus, Rodger accounts for the fact that the average per house remained 'static at 5.6 between 1801 and 1831' by pointing to the 'subdivision of existing properties'.[54] The quality of a 'house' could, therefore, differ markedly. Figures for Bristol suggest that overcrowded housing was becoming more of a problem in the city by the late eighteenth century Bristol. According to John Browning's article in the *Gentleman's Magazine* in 1754; 6, 082 'houses' or dwellings were shared by 43, 275 Bristolians. This suggests an average seven people per household.[55] Table 3:6 indicates that there were only 5.7 people per household in 1775, while table 3:5 reveals that in St. Philip there were 6.2 people per household in 1781. Superficially, then, it would appear that cramped conditions were being eased at the same time as the population increased from 43,000 in 1754 to 55,000 in 1775.[56]

However, there is no quantitative evidence to evaluate whether the housing needs of this rising population were met by a similar increase in new housing. Nevertheless, qualitative evidence suggests that the new demands were met by the subdivision of existing properties, the same process that had kept the national average per house superficially low. Indeed James New, explained how this process had occurred in the parish of Temple, by

Table 3:6 Sketchley's calculations of people per house in Bristol, 1775

Street/Parish	No. of Houses	No. of people	Average per House
St. James's barton – St. James	21	133	6.3
Barton-alley – St. James	7	25	3.6
St. James – Average	**28**	**158**	**5.6**
Queens-square – St. Nicholas	51	342	6.7
King-street – St. Nicholas	38	296	7.8
Bristol-back – St. Nicholas	38	240	6.3
Back-street – St. Nicholas	45	302	6.7
Baldwin-street –St. Nicholas	52	294	5.7
St. Nicholas – Average	**224**	**1, 474**	**6.6**
Tower-lane – Christchurch	37	95	2.6
Pithay – Christchurch	29	134	4.6
Christchurch – Average	**66**	**229**	**3.5**
Maryport-street – St. Peter	40	180	4.5
Peter-street – St. Peter	21	94	4.5
St. Peter – Average	**61**	**274**	**4.5**
Marsh-street – St. Stephen	47	282	6
Clare-street – St. Stephen	29	103	3.6
St. Stephen – Average	**76**	**385**	**5.1**
Counter-slip – Temple	18	102	5.7
Temple-street – Temple	160	990	6.2
Temple-back – Temple	27	144	5.3
Temple – Average	**205**	**1, 236**	**6**
Tucker-street – St. Thomas	37	227	6.1
Total	697	3, 983	5.7

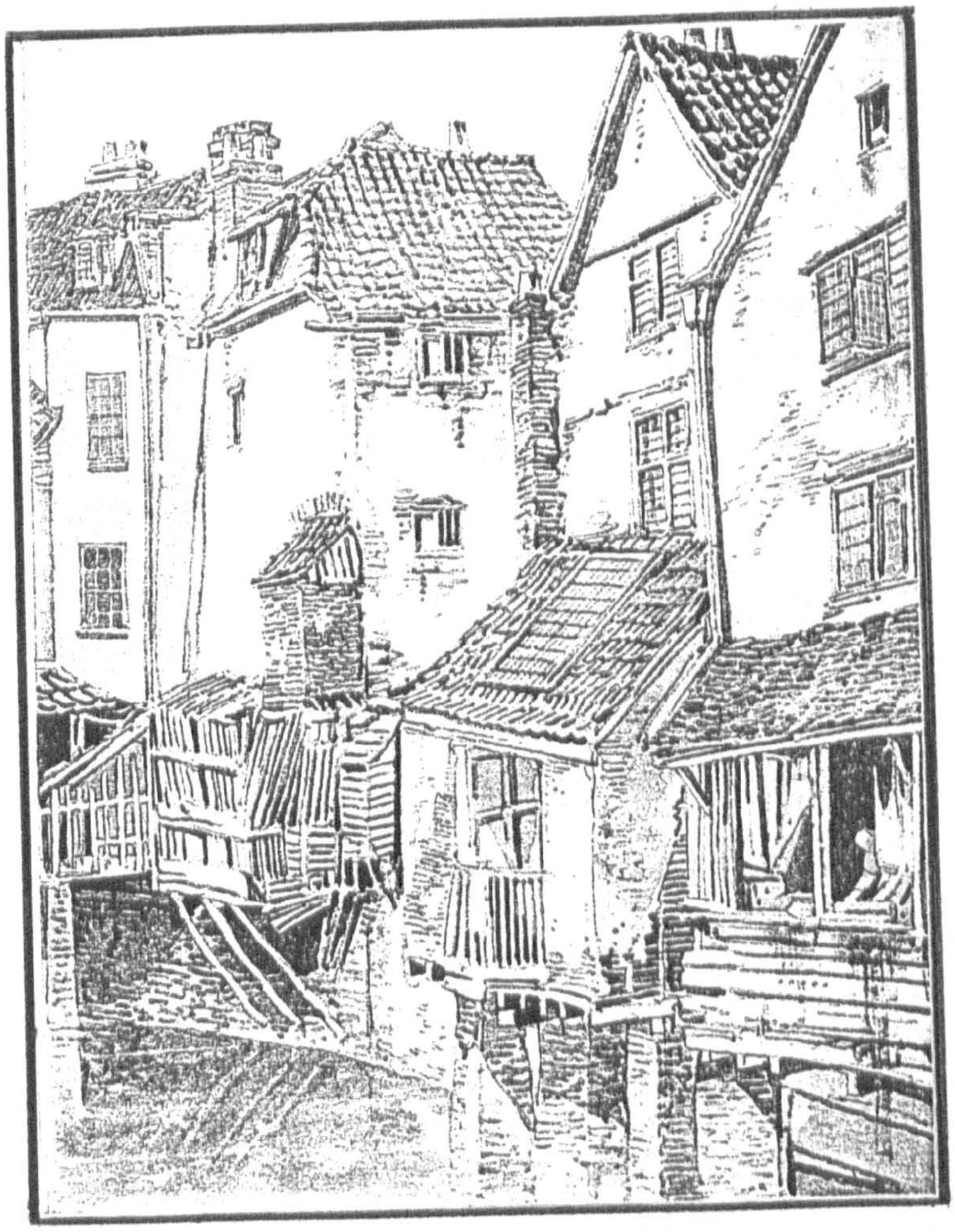
Source: *Sketchley's Bristol Directory 1775* (1971 reprint), p. 120.

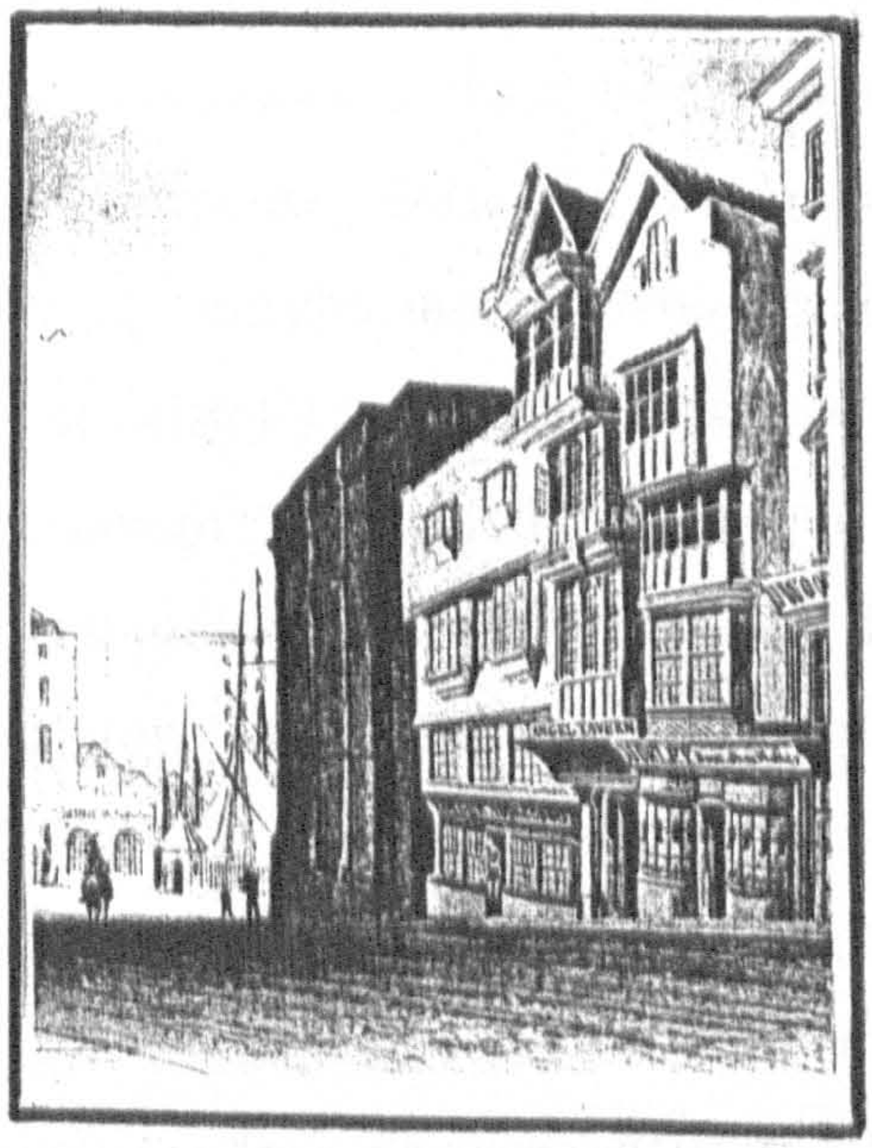
1781 an artisan parish. New explained that Temple possessed 'some of the largest houses in the City' which used to contain one family each of '5 or 6 persons'. When these families left, 'each room in a house became a separate tenement' with the result that the houses now contain 'from 20 to 30' people.[57] In 1786, Richard Cannington, giving evidence before a House of Lords's enquiry into the propriety of widening access to Bristol Bridge, claimed that in Temple Street itself 'the Houses are large' and 'chiefly inhabited by poor People, to whom they are let out in Lodgings'.[58]

Pictures provide an additional source of information about artisanal housing in Bristol in this period. The types of buildings that shoemakers and tailors inhabited can be seen in contemporary paintings of houses in the areas in which shoemakers were most concentrated. Picture 1, for instance, portrays the backs of houses overlooking the River Frome at St. James Back in the 'artisan' parish of St. James in 1820. This picture has been described by a recent writer as a 'typical image of the ramshackle housing .... in the area', and looking at the many storeys of buildings, one can imagine shoemakers renting out the roof-top attic rooms depicted in the far top-right and top-left of the picture.[59] Given the generally poor quality accommodation on offer to many journeymen, such rooms were not necessarily cheap. The costs of maintaining a property for the married journeymen was of

Picture 1: 'St James's Back' (1820) - Hugh O'Neill

Reproduced from S. Stoddard, *Bristol before the Camera: The City in 1820-30* (Bristol, 2001), with the kind permission of Bristol Museums & Art Gallery.





Picture 2: 'The bottom of High Street'(1826) - Thomas L Rowbotham

Reproduced from S. Stoddard, *Bristol before the Camera: The City in 1820-30* (Bristol, 2001), with the kind permission of Bristol Museums & Art Gallery.

major concern, even although dwellings often consisted of just a single room. Thus, in 1792, journeymen boot-makers mentioned, in the course of a wage claim, that 'the dearness of house-rent' was a key concern.[60] Indeed, the most evident material difference between the standard of living of journeymen and masters, as well as between poor and rich masters, lay in the ability of the latter to afford better working premises, accommodation, and material possessions.

Property costs were a key concern for masters. John Rees, for example, the Bristol master shoemaker, warned the 'young cutter' thinking of setting up as a 'master' to be aware of the 'enormous' cost of 'house rent and taxes'.[61] Campbell mentioned that shoemakers and tailors required between £100 and £500, in order to set themselves up in business. One can, therefore, imagine that besides funds for stock, wages and credit, money for a property took up a not insignificant part of this fund.[62] Such amounts would suggest, given the level of journeymen's wages, that social mobility was becoming restricted in this period. During the 1770s, for example, the average wages of journeymen tailors in Bristol were thirteen shillings per week. It would, therefore, take almost three years for tailors to earn a hundred pounds, the lowest amount Campbell felt was necessary, and almost fifteen years to earn the upper limit of five hundred pounds.[63] Few journeymen could therefore save enough to ever become masters. This has led Rule to claim that in both the tailoring and shoemaking trades the 'cost of renting and maintaining premises in respectable areas' was a significant factor restricting journeymen from 'becoming independent at other than the poor end of the trade'.[64] The fact that the 'parish mean rateable value', based upon the valuation of properties for taxes, was below the 'city mean' in every 'artisan' parish except for Castle Precincts and St. Philip, suggests that Bristol masters based in these areas were not operating at the top end of the market.[65] Property expenses, therefore, largely explains both why London possessed 'hundreds of small independent shoemakers' who worked in 'traditional garrets', and why only a minority of Bristol's master shoemakers and tailors were ever based in the non-artisan sector.[66] Although they had left the ranks of journeymen, the gap between such 'masters' and journeymen was limited and these were hardly 'masters' in the sense of being large employers of labour. Indeed the decline in the number of master shoemakers between 1775 and 1785, (see table 3:3), may reflect the fact that poorer masters had sunk back into the ranks of the journeymen. Thus, because absolute numbers of shoemakers did not decline, the ratio between journeymen and masters became greater in favour of the former over time. The precarious position of masters who set themselves up in business with limited capital, was alluded to by Samuel Drew, a Cornish shoemaker. Drew mentioned that upon starting the business in the late

eighteenth century he had adhered to a 'rigid economy' because he had 'no means of paying wages to a journeyman' until he was himself paid by the customers.[67] It is not difficult to understand how men in this situation could easily regress to the ranks of the journeymen.

Given the pressures on accommodation in the city, being able to rent an entire property that could be used as a 'shop' was a sign that one had arrived as a master. This led to different problems for masters and journeymen. Thus, while John Rees complained of the high 'rent and taxes' associated with renting larger premises, journeymen shoemakers complained in 1792 only about high 'house-rent'.[68] Thus taxes and rates only applied to rents on higher-valued properties. In late eighteenth-century Bristol 'houses under the value of £7 p.a. and tenements under £10 p.a.' were exempt 'from rates' under 'many Acts'.[69] As a result, when the Lackingtons were paying a weekly rent of 'half a crown' in the early 1770s, amounting to an annual amount of six pounds and ten shillings, they were well below the exemption rate of £10 for a 'tenement', because they did not occupy an entire house.[70] By contrast, when Abraham Ore, master shoemaker, vacated a 'HOUSE in CORN-STREET (*sic*)' in 1769 it was advertised for re-letting at a rate of thirty-five pounds per year, equating to approximately thirteen and a half shillings per week.[71] Ore therefore paid over five times more for his premises than the Lackingtons' had for their single room. Ore's house was therefore well beyond the exemption bands for rates and taxes. His property in Corn Street was based in the 'wealthy trading parish' of St. Werburgh, thus highlighting the better properties that some masters had access to.

Visual evidence tends to substantiate the differentiation between better-off masters and journeymen. Picture 2 shows a smart-looking shoemaker's shop in High Street, within the central parish of St. Nicholas and just a short walk from the fashionable shopping area of Wine Street. This scene is far removed from the scruffy dwelling houses in the artisan parish of St. James represented in picture 1. In London some large masters were evidently able to acquire a comfortable separation between home and business. Thus Brown described one of his employers, for example, as arriving at the shop in London 'from his country house'.[72] However, these arrangements reflected the living standards of only a very small minority of wealthier masters. A more common experience was that of the Lackington's who, when in London, acquired a 'shop and parlour' to set up in business, and lived on the same premises as the shop.[73]

Masters in Bristol appear to have had living quarters and business premises which were generally next to each other. Thus, when Andrew Foley, a master tailor from St. Stephen, quit his tailoring business in 1791 the 'House and Shop' situated 'nearly opposite the Dial-Slip in the Quay' was 'to be let'.[74] This suggests that Foley's business premises and living quarters were close together. Likewise, when Hannah Phillips, widow of another master tailor from St. Stephen named James Phillips, continued with her husband's tailoring business in 1773 this was advertised as being 'at their House in PRINCE'S-STREET (*sic*)'.[75] The sub-text of some adverts placed by masters clearly hinted at a rise in their prosperity. Such an impression is unmistakable from that placed by Edward Evans, a St. James shoemaker, in 1774. Evans was clearly moving into more comfortable and bigger premises when informing customers that he had moved 'from his late Dwelling House' on the 'Corner of Old King-street' to a 'more commodious one' in 'the Horse Fair'.[76] This suggests that an eighteenth-century property ladder existed, at least as far as masters were concerned, and that one clearly looked to rent superior premises when this was affordable. Indeed masters, unlike journeymen, were able to make more out of their properties due to the fact that they could afford larger properties with opportunities for generating further income. Thus, some masters sub-let parts of their premises in order to recoup some of their own property costs. Among shoemaking concerns, for example, Davis and Company advertised in 1778 that they had 'a convenient First Floor to Let', while Samuel Thompson in 1780 had a 'First and Second Floor with a Garret' and 'the Use of a Kitchen' that was 'to be lett (*sic*)'.[77] The nature of the property depicted in picture 2 presumably leant itself to either of the scenarios outlined above, allowing the master to live close to his place of work, and even to sub-let floors which he did not need. Similar opportunities were also open to Bristol's master tailors. In 1780, for example, Henry Richards acquired a 'House' to engage in the tailoring business and advertised that there was a 'genteel Apartment to lett (*sic*)', and, in 1771, Jane Badger, widow of a master tailor, in 1771 offered 'Lodging and Boarding' to supplement her income.[78]

Further differences between more prosperous masters and journeymen were created by the greater access to material possessions which some established masters enjoyed, and the resulting more comfortable state of their homes. Thus Stephen Bagg, master shoemaker, could afford to run a horse and carriage. When he died in 1776 a 'neat POST-CHAISE (*sic*)' and 'a Pair of black GELDINGS' were offered for sale.[79] Bagg had lived in the poor artisan parish of St. Mary Redcliff, suggesting that wealthy men did not just reside in the central and western areas of the city. Indeed, according to Baigent rich and poor lived in all parishes, and even parishes such as 'St Mary Redcliff' had 'their wealthy residents'.[80]

Other evidence also suggests that some masters had a wide range of material possessions. Thus, William Edwards, testified in 1785 that 'several pieces of china such as coffee cups, plates and dishes' had been 'stolen from his house in Clare Street' in the wealthy trading parish of St. Stephen, and that they were worth at least thirty shillings.[81] In October 1797 the bankruptcy of Joel Stuckey, a master shoemaker from St. Mary Redcliff, illustrated both the precarious nature of the trade, as well as the range of material possessions that master shoemakers might accumulate. An advertised auction of his household effects included 'feather and millpuff beds', a 'mahogany bureau', a 'chest of drawers', several sets of chairs and tables as well as 'looking glasses' and some 'articles of silver plate and a quantity of exceeding good kitchen furniture'.[82] A wider survey of the possessions that some tradesmen obtained might have been found in probate inventories. Unfortunately, they do not exist for our period since 'English inventories more or less cease after the 1730s'.[83] Nevertheless, even in the absence of such inventories, the available evidence indicates that the richest masters enjoyed a material existence that was far more comfortable than journeymen could expect. Having said this, it should be remembered that many masters who operated at the poor end of the trade experienced similar living conditions to journeymen.

OCCUPATIONAL HEALTH, WORKING HOURS & ILLNESS

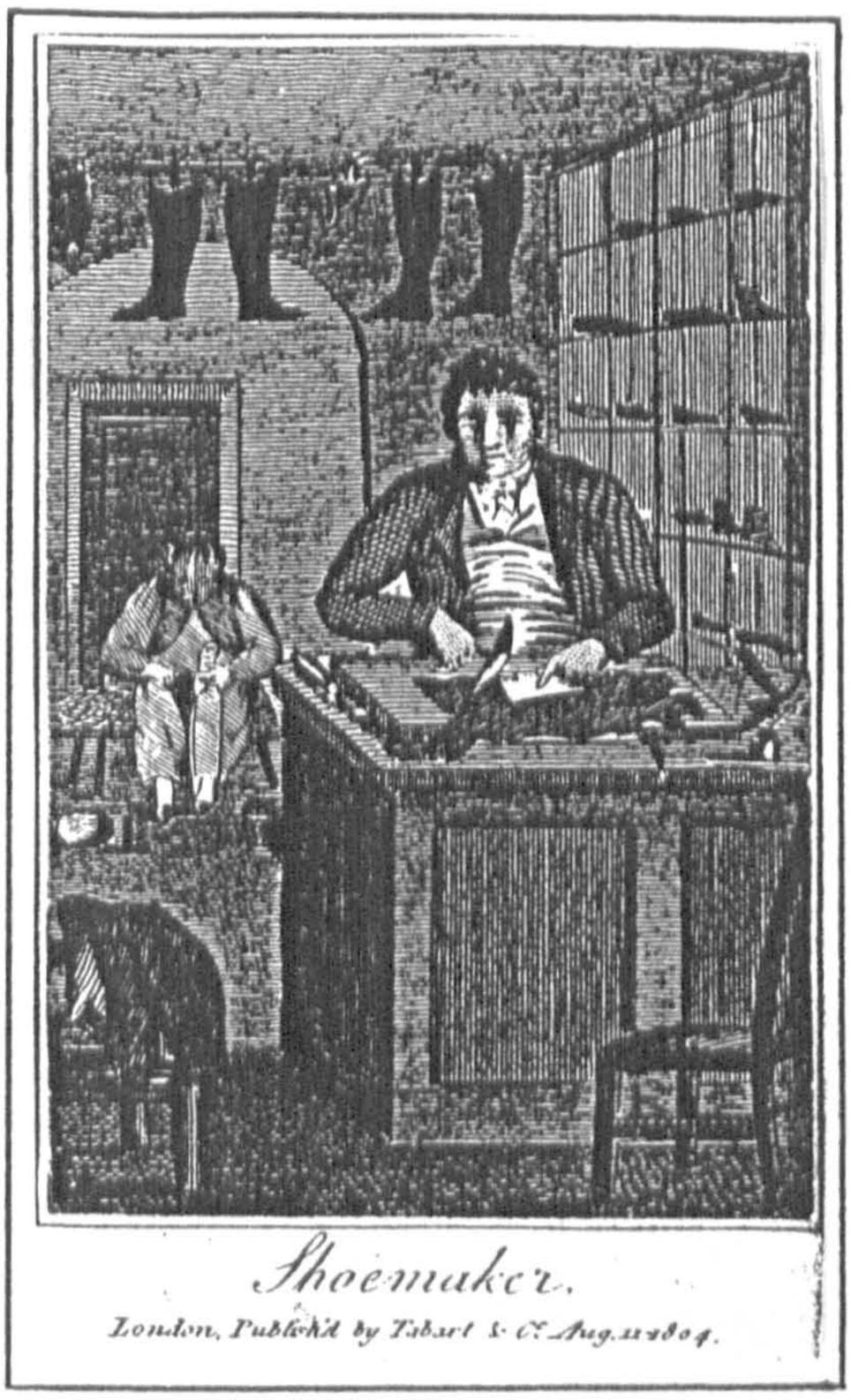
While there were many diseases and health hazards in late eighteenth-century society that could affect either the physical or financial well being of shoemakers and tailors, four occupational factors conspired to particularly influence the health of workers in these trades. Firstly, shoemaking was felt to attract those less capable of more demanding physical work. Indeed, the sedentary nature of the work meant that small, weak, or even handicapped boys were often put to this trade.[84] Campbell, writing in the mid-eighteenth century, claimed that shoemaking 'does not require much Strength'.[85] William Gifford, later known for his literary prowess, was apprenticed to a Devon shoemaker by his godfather only after he had been sent to the 'plough' and found to be 'too weak for such heavy work'.[86] Robert Bloomfield was sent to his brother George in London to learn shoemaking in 1781 because it was felt he was too 'small and weakly' to be able 'to obtain his living by hard out-door labour' as he had been doing as a farm-boy in Suffolk.[87] A similar pattern existed in the tailoring trade where it was popularly believed that 'a Boy of a sickly weak Constitution is fittest for a Taylor (*sic*)'. Weaker boys were therefore often apprenticed to this trade since tailoring did not require a 'robust Body or much muscular Strength'.[88] Thus, some men already had potential health problems when they entered these trades.

Secondly, the sedentary nature of the employment created its own problems. Prothero notes that both shoemakers and tailors were prone to occupational diseases such as 'fistula', a form of ulcer that arose due to their sedentary work.[89] Bernardino Ramazzini's medical treatise of 1713 specifically highlighted both 'cobblers and tailors' to illustrate the nature of 'sedentary workers and their diseases'. These were largely a result of them keeping a continually 'bent posture' as if they were 'looking for something on the ground', with the result that they became 'round-shouldered like monkeys'.[90] Ramazzini even posited that the amount of 'stooping, round-shouldered, limping men' witnessed on the 'feast-days' of the shoemaking and tailors' guilds, meant that it looked like such individuals were 'carefully selected' as an 'exhibition of these infirmities'.[91] Tailors were particularly prone to 'numbness of the legs, lameness and sciatica' since they sat with 'one of the legs back against the thigh'.[92] Campbell also argued that tailors' working position of 'sitting cross-legged' and 'always in one Posture' adversely affected their health.[93] An article on the ritual a 'Turkish Ambassador' adopted for receiving dinner mentioned that he sat 'cross-legged in the manner of a tailor'.[94] Sitting in this fashion made tailors 'liable to Coughs and Consumptions more than any other Trade I know', and Campbell went on to lament that 'you rarely see a Taylor live to a great Age (*sic*)'.[95] Pictures 3 and 4 illustrate the sitting positions at work of journeyman shoemakers and tailors respectively. The cross-legged position of the tailor in picture 4 can be compared to the sitting position of the shoemaker in picture 3. While neither position looks like a comfortable posture in which to work, the position of the tailor looks decidedly worse.[96] Nevertheless hours of sitting down to work, whatever the position, resulted in poor digestion and circulation and Lavater, a Zurich 'physiognomist', commented on the 'sallow complexions' of Swiss shoemakers in the eighteenth century.[97]

Thirdly, long hours of work, often in bad light further exacerbated health problems. So extensive was this problem that an epitaph to a shoemaker included the lines: 'And then, when almost eighty-four, His eyes grew dim- could work no more'.[98] Retirement was unrealistic for most journeymen, and fading eyesight was a main factor in ending the working lives of those who lived to old age. Campbell mentions that a tailor 'ought to have a strong sharp Sight' given that his eyes are 'much tryed by working at Candle-light (*sic*)'.[99] While the standard hours worked by shoemakers and tailors were by no means excessive for the age, necessity often drove men to work longer than was officially stipulated. Campbell listed the working hours for practically every trade imaginable, and the hours worked by shoemakers and tailors fell into the most common bracket, those that

Picture 3: Illustration of Shoemakers at Work (1804)

Reproduced from Anon., *The Book of Trades: Part 2* (London, 1806)



Picture 4: Illustration of Tailors at Work (1806)

Reproduced from Anon., *The Book of Trades: Part 2* (London, 1806)

laboured between six in the morning and eight at night.[100] In the London tailoring trade these hours were standardised by a 'Sessions of the Peace' in 1764. Many workers clearly followed long hours; thus John Brown woke at six o'clock every morning when working as a journeyman shoemaker in London.[101] Likewise, when James Lackington was serving his apprenticeship in Taunton his master 'called up his people to work' at six o' clock in the morning.[102] The monotony of the working day was broken only by meals. According to Robert Southey, the 'labouring part of the community dine at one', though George Bloomfield noted that his brother Robert went at 'noon' and 'fetched our dinners from the cook's shop'.[103] A further meal break was taken late in the afternoon; thus John Brown describes how his fellow lodger 'laid down his work and began to set his things for tea' as the 'clock that hung in one corner of the room struck four'.[104] For shoemakers the day was also broken up by the need to acquire materials and work. London journeymen had to call at their shop around seven in the evening otherwise according to Brown, they 'would have been without work the whole of the next day'.[105] In Bristol this practice may have occurred at the day's beginning. Charles Allen, for example, remarked that he used to go out for 'Leather' sometime between half past six and eight in the morning.[106] Whether the working day ended at eight or not appeared to depend either on one's finances or position in life. While apprenticed at Taunton, James Lackington worked from 'six in the morning until ten at night' in the winter, but for 'as long as we could see without candle' during 'the summer half year'.[107] John Brown found that the demands of his recent marriage led to him 'frequently working sixteen hours out of the twenty-four', which must have entailed working from six in the morning until ten at night or later, depending on whether meal breaks were included in Brown's working time.[108] That Brown stopped 'work at eight o' clock' three times per week to gain some respite from the gruelling schedule represented the limitations to the number of days one could work beyond the usual working day.[109] Likewise when Samuel Drew was seeking to establish himself as a master shoemaker in Cornwall he laboured 'eighteen hours out of the twenty-four', which meant he was often 'obliged to sit up till midnight'.[110] Those working longer hours naturally lost time intended for rest, recuperation, and sleep. Working longer hours also inevitably led to an extension of the working week. Thus, during Brown's early married life he 'scarcely ever went out for a holiday except on Sunday'.[111] When one Monday afternoon Brown and his wife took 'an afternoon's holiday' he described this as a 'rare thing' since his marriage.[112] The need to work beyond what was considered a standard working week seems to have affected a sizeable number of Bristol shoemakers. In 1777, for example, Bristol's journeymen shoemakers complained that 'Poverty and Distress' had led to the 'painful Necessity' of being 'obliged to violate the Holy Sabbath', and therefore give up the usual rest and

recreation that characterised Sundays.[113] James Lackington also noted that the 'lower class' of Bristol and London spent Sundays 'working' as well as pursuing recreational activity.[114]

Longer hours and an extended working week naturally heightened the problems of the fourth factor to affect health, namely a lack of exercise. According to Ramazzini, lack of exercise among sedentary workers led to 'general ill-health' since the 'blood becomes tainted' as 'waste matter lodges in the skin' while 'the condition of the whole body deteriorates'.[115] This applied 'especially to cobblers and tailors', rather than to sedentary workers such as 'potters and weavers' who used 'the whole body' in their work process thus ensuring 'better health'.[116] The physical effects of the work process could become particularly evident after a prolonged break from the trade. This was John Brown's experience when he was absent from the shoemaking trade for four years during the Napoleonic Wars. Brown lamented that a sailor's 'life of the greatest activity' had left him 'very unfit for this sedentary employment', and that he suffered from 'pains' in the 'back and loins arising from the bent position in which I was compelled to sit'. As a result, Brown was compelled to leave his work 'every half-hour' and 'walk about the room till the agony subsided'.[117] Ramazzini advised such workers 'to take physical exercise' when they could, especially on 'holidays'.[118] It would appear that some did so. Robert Bloomfield talked, for instance of a 'whole day's stroll in the country' with his brother.[119] John Brown stopped work early three evenings a week to allow himself thirty minutes of exercise, and on a visit to his wife's relations took the opportunity to play a game of skittles, which he described as 'very beneficial to persons of sedentary occupations'.[120] An interesting contrast can be observed when Brown shared his first meal with his roommate at his first London lodgings. Brown ate well having been travelling yet his 'companion ate but little', presumably due to sitting at work all day.[121] That shoemakers sought exercise whenever they could was perhaps evident when the Bristol journeymen mentioned that they would 'give themselves the Pleasure of a Walk up to Durdham-Down', beyond Clifton, to discuss their strike in 1777.[122] Even a change from living in urban areas could quickly yield beneficial results. Thus, when Lackington left Bristol to work in Devon for a year he arrived in a 'weak state of body', but found that 'the healthy situation of the town' along 'with bathing in the salt water soon restored me to perfect health'.[123] The importance of clean air was not lost on John Rees, the Bristol shoemaker, who advised fellow shoemakers not to share rooms where 'more than two or three (were) at work', since 'breathing all day the confined breath of so many is exceedingly injurious to your health'.[124]

While the general health problems associated with the two trades would have undoubtedly affected the Bristol men, their exposure to urban pollution in Bristol would also have made them susceptible to a range of more general illnesses. The filthy nature of urban spaces before the sanitation reforms of the Victorian period were all too evident in Bristol's streets, especially those in the 'artisan parishes' of St. Thomas, St. Mary Redcliff and Temple which formed a 'densely populated area of Bristol'.[125] Thus, when Richard Cannington, the owner of a glass manufactory, gave evidence to the House of Lords's enquiry in 1786, he mentioned that Temple Street 'slopes from each Side with a Gutter in the Middle'.[126] This situation does not seem to have changed much by 1807 when poet Robert Southey, son of a Bristol linen-draper, remarked that Temple Street 'displayed as much filth, and as much poverty as I have seen in any English town', while Redcliffe Street was 'narrow, congested and dirty'.[127] Problems of public health were not confined to the 'artisan' parishes in Bristol. The area around St. James Back in the 'artisan parish' of St. James in eastern Bristol has been described by one recent writer as one of the 'poorer' and 'filthy areas of the city' in which the 'cholera epidemics' of the early nineteenth century were to become 'concentrated'.[128] This part of Bristol is depicted in picture 1, and as one can see, dwellings backed on to the River Frome. The fact that both 'sewage and industrial waste were dumped' in the Frome created 'unbearable levels' of pollution in warm weather, since sewers were not installed until the mid-1850s.[129] Bristol also suffered from 'woefully inadequate water supplies', with the poor largely 'dependent on the public conduits and pumps' that had provided an 'excellent water supply' during the Middle Ages but were 'now inadequate' given rising population levels.[130] One measure of the importance of such pumps to eighteenth-century Bristolians is illustrated by the fact that they were cited as landmarks within commercial adverts. Thus, Richard Roach advertised that his recently opened shoe shop in Wine Street was to be found 'opposite the Pumps', while Snow and New advertised their shoe shop in Dolphin Street as being 'two Doors from Peter's-Pump'.[131] Similarly a breeches-maker named White advertised that his premises were 'adjoining St. Peter's Pump' in Dolphin Street.[132]

An understanding that public health left something to be desired in Bristol in this period is not just the product of twenty-first century hindsight. James Lackington, for example, was well aware of the problem during his time in the city's shoemaking trade. He described how his wife became 'extremely ill' due to exchanging the 'exercise and good air' of rural Somerset for the 'sedentary life and very bad air' associated both with shoemaking specifically and Bristol more generally.[133] Later when they had moved to London disaster struck for the Lackingtons when a 'fever' claimed the life of his wife and left Lackington

too ill to look after the business.[134] These fevers were in general terms brought on by a mixture of 'dirt, poor water supply and general overcrowding'.[135] While the term 'fever' was used as a label for 'an enormous range of diseases', the term specifically referred to typhus. The effects of illness went further than just the impact on the individual. Thus, while his wife was ill in Bristol, Lackington was unable to afford a nurse, writing that 'much of my time was taken up in attendance on her' while 'most of my money (was) expended in procuring medicines'.[136] The 'fever' that gripped both of them in London almost lost Lackington his business as well as his wife. His home and shop were only saved 'from ruin' by his sister and several friends, because the 'nurses' in attendance 'would soon have emptied' the premises given the opportunity.[137] Less serious problems could still cause considerable disruption to everyday business. Thus Henry Nevill, a Bristol tailor, lamented in 1789 that 'breaking his leg' had prevented him 'personally waiting' on customers, and he looked for understanding among a 'generous publick' and 'friendly creditors' during 'the trying-hour of distress'.[138]

Not surprisingly the more common diseases of the age were apt to strike men of the trade down in their prime. Thus Joseph Blacket, a shoemaker poet and contemporary of Robert Bloomfield, 'died of consumption' in 1810 at the age of twenty-four, caused by the 'hard work by day and loss of nightly sleep' spent pursuing literary ambitions.[139] Indeed 'consumption' claimed around 22 per cent of London deaths in 1798, while 'convulsions' accounted for approximately 24 per cent.[140] The horrors of the smallpox were witnessed when Brown attended an Irish wake for a child, as 'the head had swollen beyond all proportion and wore the appearance of an immense plum-pudding'.[141] In 1798 smallpox accounted for 7.5 % of London deaths, as the deadly nature of the disease in the early eighteenth century had by the later eighteenth century been lessened by 'inoculation and then vaccination', as well as the reduced 'potency of the disease itself'.[142] Activity on this front in Bristol was found in the 'late 1760s and early 1770s' when 'two competing smallpox houses claimed to be licensed by the Suttons', a firm of 'great mass inoculators'.[143] Edward Jenner, a physician attached to the Bristol Infirmary pursued 'the prevention of small-pox' in 1795.[144] Though fatalities may have decreased its qualitative impact was still prevalent. Thomas Olivers (1725-1799) was described as having suffered 'from a terrible attack of small-pox' when living as a shoemaker in Bradford, Wiltshire.[145] The impact of the disease on Bristol's artisans can also be seen in the physical marks that often formed a key part of numerous character descriptions. Thus, when Joseph Collings, an apprentice to Joel Stuckey in Bristol, absconded from the latter's service in August 1773 he was described as having 'a large Pit of the Small Pox on one of his Cheeks'.[146]

Likewise when Henry Grace, an apprentice to the Bristol shoemaker Richard King, absconded in 1776 he was described as being 'pitted with the Small-pox'.[147] James Vickery, a run-away apprentice from Bridgwater in Somerset was also described as being 'marked with the Small-pox' in 1780.[148] It could also be used to describe escaped convicts, such as Philip Charles, a shoemaker who was also described as being 'pitted with the small pox' in 1796.[149]

Some shoemakers and tailors were not averse to putting their complaints, once cured, to the service of medicinal advertisers, an 'extremely popular advertising strategy in this period', according to Mary Fissell.[150] The Bristol shoemaker Henry Mearn, for instance, advertised 'Dr. Bostock's famous Purging Elixir' in 1769. This, he claimed, had cured him of a complaint that left him 'violently afflicted with a Hacking Cough' that involved 'spiting a great deal of tough Phlegm', and had left him 'thin and weak' and with a 'loathing of Food'.[151] Similarly John Knight, a Kent shoemaker, described the physical effects of a 'Scorbutic Humour' in 1775 that covered his arms and shoulders.[152] This caused 'excessive itching' and 'scalded and corroded other Parts so that the Skin scaled off' as Knight was 'attended with a Fever' and admitted he was 'scarcely able to do my Work', though he was cured by 'four small Bottles of Mr. Spilsbury's Drops'.[153] In 1783 the wife of John Gambelled, a Bristol shoemaker, had become almost blind until she 'was restored to the sight again by Dr. Goergslenner'.[154] In January 1786 Edward Bower, a shoemaker living in St. James, claimed that having 'been troubled with fits upwards of 20 years' he had been cured by Dr. Brunswick.[155] William Turner, a St. James tailor, had been 'sorely afflicted with a painful CANCER in his under-Lip' for two years until Dr. Goergslenner performed an operation in 1783 to remove the growth, a 'practitioner' from Queen Square who usually specialised in 'venereal disease treatments'.[156] Artisans therefore were not hesitant in putting forward their ailments for advertising purposes, perhaps looking to recoup payments made for medicines.

Individual practitioners were not the only health resource available to Bristol's artisans however. The Bristol Infirmary was established in 1737 by 'public subscription' with a remit to refuse admission to patients who could 'afford to pay for medical attendance'.[157] There is considerable evidence that poor Bristolians came to rely on the Infirmary. Indeed a study of admissions to the Infirmary between Michaelmas 1761 and 1762 by Bernice Boss found that 7.4 per cent of Bristol's residents were admitted in this year.[158] Patients from 'artisan' parishes appear to have been particularly in need of this resource. Thus, while the parish of St. James only accounted for 20 per cent of Bristol's housing, it

accounted for 33 per cent of all in-patient admissions and 27 per cent of outpatient registrations.[159] By the 1790s the Infirmary was treating 4,000 patients annually. Demand was mainly localised; '84 percent of Infirmary patients came from the city itself'.[160] That the Infirmary had such demands placed upon it is not surprising considering the state of public health in eighteenth-century Bristol. Though 'craftsmen' appeared fairly regularly among the lists of patients, the 'single largest group' were 'laborers' and then 'unskilled workers', both groups which suffered from 'low wages and intermittent employment'.[161] Artisans, by comparison, were considered to have enough resources to pay for their own treatment. Fissell cites the case of Lackington and his wife as one instance where the husband's earnings precluded a visit to the Infirmary that would have been possible had his wife 'been single'.[162] It seems, therefore, that artisans were not entitled to free medical treatment, meaning that illness represented a burden in terms of medical costs, as well as lost earnings.

Conclusion

In late eighteenth-century Bristol the vast majority of shoemakers and tailors worked and lived in the eastern and southern 'artisan' parishes. These trends were slightly less pronounced among masters. While single journeymen mainly shared single-room lodgings with other men of the trade, married journeymen tended to share with their wives, and in many instances, their children. The evidence also suggests that living quarters were very cramped, a product of the fact that renting property was an expensive business. This also affected many masters, with the result that the distribution figures reveal that only a minority could afford premises in the wealthier areas of central and western Bristol. The evidence also suggests that shoemakers and tailors, especially journeymen, did not enjoy the greatest levels of health. Long hours spent working in bent, sitting positions, combined with lack of exercise to weaken the body. Tailors and shoemakers were therefore more susceptible to the common diseases of this period, and this was further aggravated by poor public health standards. Illness further degraded the quality of life by lessening the earning power of the artisan. Taken together, they suggest that the late eighteenth-century Bristol journeyman was largely a victim of circumstance. Thus, for example, he could do relatively little to change the type of room he inhabited or the amount of hours he laboured. These material conditions of life, combined with an inability to do much to change them, were important factors which help to explain why wage levels, food prices, and wage bargaining became such prevalent concerns among journeymen shoemakers and tailors in this period.

ENDNOTES

[1] Anon., *Crispin Anecdotes: Comprising Interesting Notices of Shoemakers who have been Distinguished for Genius, Enterprise or Eccentricity* (Sheffield, 1827), p. 172; T. Mortimer, *A General Commercial Dictionary* (London, 1819), p. 913.
[2] J. F. Rees, *The Art and Mystery of a Cordwainer; or An Essay on the principles and practice of Boot and Shoe-Making* (London, 1813), p. ix, xi (preface). By the mid-nineteenth century shoemakers formed 'the largest single artisan occupation' in Britain. According to national census returns, their numbers increased from 133,000 to 243,000 between 1841 and 1851, according to national census returns. See E. J. Hobsbawm and J. Scott, 'Political Shoemakers', *Past and Present*, 89, (1980), p. 88, 106.
[3] J. Brown, *Sixty Years' Gleanings from Life's Harvest* (Cambridge, 1858), pp. 25, 164-165.
[4] R. Campbell, *The London Tradesman* (London, 1747; 1969 Reprint), p. 193.
[5] J. R. Farr, *Artisans in Europe, 1300-1914* (Cambridge, 2000), p. 243.
[6] E. Baigent, 'Economy and society in eighteenth-century English towns: Bristol in the 1770s' in D. Denecke and G. Shaw, (eds), *Urban Historical Geography: Recent Progress in Britain and Germany* (Cambridge, 1988), p. 110.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 112.
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 110.
[9] The maps were based and amended on those used by Elizabeth Baigent in her survey of 1770s Bristol. See E. Baigent, 'Assessed Taxes as Sources for the study of urban wealth: Bristol in the later eighteenth century', *Urban History Yearbook* (Leicester, 1988) p. 44.
[10] Baigent, 'Bristol in the 1770s', p. 337, 118-119.
[11] *Ibid.*, pp. 118-119.
[12] *Ibid.*, p. 119.
[13] R. Rodger, *Housing in Urban Britain, 1780-1914: Class, Capitalism and Construction* (London, 1989), p. 12.
[14] Thus in St. Philip there were 622 voters in 1784, whereas there were only 558 in 1754. In St. James there were 760 voters in 1754, rising to 883 in 1784. Based on the Poll Book figures.
[15] In 1754 there were 268 voters in St. Stephen, while in 1784 this had fallen to 135. In Christchurch there had been 127 voters in 1754, yet only 83 in 1784. Based on the Poll Book figures.
[16] *Mathews's Bristol Directory, 1793-4* (Bristol, 1794), pp. 31-32.
[17] J. Latimer, *The Annals of Bristol in the Eighteenth Century* (Bristol, 1893), p. 494.
[18] See Bristol Rates Index: Parishes & Streets therein, 1800-1823, BRL, BL 14/15. However this source allotted some streets to St. Paul, a parish formed in 1794 out of 'the eastern part of St James' parish'. Thus the figures for these streets were added to the St. James total, the parish they were in when the poll books were collated. See *A Survey of Parish Boundary Markers and Stones for Eleven of the Ancient Bristol Parishes* (Temple Local History Group, Bristol, 1994), p. 14; 'National Index of Parish Registers, Society of Genealogists (London, 1966), p. 26.
[19] Hobsbawm and Scott, 'Political Shoemakers', p. 103.
[20] S. Stoddard, *Bristol before the Camera: The City in 1820-30, Watercolours and Drawings from the Braikenridge Collection* (Bristol, 2001), p. 27.
[21] J. Rule, *The Experience of Labour in Eighteenth-Century Industry* (London, 1981), pp. 33-34.
[22] SFBJ 17/4/1784.
[23] Baigent, 'Bristol in the 1770s', pp. 118-119.
[24] *Ibid.*
[25] *Felix Farley's Bristol Journal* (hereafter FFBJ) 2/4/1796.
[26] FFBJ 22/11/1800.
[27] E. M. Green, 'The taxonomy of occupations in late eighteenth-century Westminster' in P. J. Corfield and D. Keene, (eds), *Work in Towns, 850-1850* (Leicester, 1990), p. 170, 165.
[28] *Annual Register*, 1800, Vol. 42, p. 319.
[29] *Ibid.*
[30] *Ibid.*
[31] Brown, *Sixty Years' Gleanings*, p. 27, 37-38.
[32] *Ibid.*, pp. 169-170.
[33] W. E. Winks, *Lives of Illustrious Shoemakers* (London, 1883), p. 104.
[34] S. Johnson, *A Dictionary of the English Language: Two Volumes* (London, 1755; 1983 reprint).
[35] *Crispin Anecdotes*, p. 173; James Dacres Devlin, *The Guide to Trade: The Shoemaker* (London, 1840), p. 10
[36] Bristol Quarter Sessions (hereafter BQS), Bristol Record Office, 18th April 1776, JQS/P.
[37] J. Lackington, *Memoirs of the First Forty-Five Years of the Life of James Lackington, The present Bookseller in Chiswell-street, Moorfields, London; Written by Himself* (London, 1792), pp. 163-164.
[38] *Ibid.*, p. 153.
[39] *Ibid.*, pp. 163-164.
[40] BQS, 21st October 1784, JQS/P.
[41] Lackington, *Memoirs.*, p. 194.

[42] Gloucestershire Lent Assizes, 19/3/1776, Indictments, ASSI 5/96/4.
[43] *Ibid.*
[44] BQS, 15th & 16th March 1786, JQS/P.
[45] Lackington, *Memoirs*, p. 197.
[46] Gloucestershire Lent Assizes, 19/3/1776.
[47] Winks, *Illustrious Shoemakers*, p. 109.
[48] *Bristol Gazette* (hereafter Bgaz) 1/10/1772.
[49] *Sarah Farley's Bristol Journal* (hereafter SFBJ) 28/5/1785.
[50] *Bonner and Middleton's Bristol Journal* (hereafter BMBJ) 24/5/1777.
[51] *Bristol Journal* (hereafter BJ) 29/5/1773.
[52] See *An Account of the Houses and Inhabitants of the Parish of St. Philip and Jacob in the City of Bristol, 1781, taken by James New, Vicar*, Bristol Reference Library, B.R.L. , B33284. For the number of rated houses in 1751 and the population figure for that year, see John Browning's calculations in *The Gentleman's Magazine and Historical Chronicle*, Vol. 24 (London, 1754), p. 315. For the census figure for 1801 see Table 3:1.
[53] Rodger, *Housing in Urban Britain*, p. 8.
[54] *Ibid.*
[55] *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 1754, p. 315.
[56] See B. D. G. Little, *The City and County of Bristol: a Study in Atlantic Civilisation* (Bristol, 1954), p. 327, for estimated population figure for 1775.
[57] *An Account of the Houses and Inhabitants....James New.*
[58] Journals of the House of Lords, Vol. 37, 1786, p. 515.
[59] Stoddard, *Bristol before the Camera*, p. 49.
[60] BMBJ 12/5/1792.
[61] Rees, *Art and Mystery*, p. 134.
[62] Campbell, *London Tradesman*, pp. 338-339.
[63] These calculations are based on the following method. £ = 20 shillings. Therefore £100 (2,000 shillings) divided by 13 (shillings) = 154 weeks = 2.96 years; £500 (10,000 shillings) divided by 13 (shillings) = 770 weeks = 14.8 years.
[64] Rule, *Experience of Labour*, p. 33.
[65] Baigent, 'Bristol in the 1770s', p. 121.
[66] Rule, *Experience of Labour*, p. 34.
[67] Winks, *Illustrious Shoemakers*, p. 131.
[68] Rees, *Art and Mystery*, p. 134; BMBJ 12/5/1792.
[69] Baigent, 'Assessed Taxes', p. 33.
[70] Lackington, *Memoirs*, p. 194. In the later eighteenth century half a crown was worth 2 ½ shillings while a pound was worth 20 shillings.
[71] BJ 2/9/1769.
[72] Brown, *Sixty Years' Gleanings*, p. 232.
[73] Winks, *Illustrious Shoemakers*, p. 31.
[74] *Bristol Mercury* (hereafter Bmerc), 31/1/1791.
[75] FFBJ 3/4/1773.
[76] FFBJ 14/5/1774.
[77] SFBJ 2/5/1778; FFBJ 7/10/1780.
[78] Bgaz 30/3/1780; BJ 27/4/1771.
[79] FFBJ 2/3/1776.
[80] Baigent, 'Bristol in the 1770s', p. 120.
[81] BQS, 17th January 1785, JQS/P.
[82] Bmerc, 2/10/1797.
[83] C. Shammas, *The Pre-industrial Consumer in England and America* (Oxford, 1990), p. 98. Thus Peter King found that between 1658 and 1731 among the probate inventories of Essex 'Tradesmen and artisans', 89% contained 'chairs', while only 22% contained a 'chest of drawers', and 25% owned 'earthenware'. See P. King, 'Pauper Inventories and the Material Lives of the Poor in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries' in T. Hitchcock, P. King, and P. Sharpe, (eds), *Chronicling Poverty: The Voices and Strategies of the English Poor, 1640-1840* (Basingstoke, 1997), p. 162.
[84] Hobsbawm and Scott, 'Political Shoemakers', p. 97.
[85] Campbell, *London Tradesman*, p. 219.
[86] Winks, *Illustrious Shoemakers*, pp. 81-83.
[87] *Ibid.*, p. 103.
[88] Campbell, *London Tradesman*, p. 193.
[89] I. J. Prothero, *Artisans and Politics in Early Nineteenth-Century London: John Gast and his Times* (Folkestone, 1979), p. 27.

[90] B. Ramazzini, *De morbis artificum: Diseases of Workers*, the Latin text of 1713 revised with translation and notes by Wilmer Cave Wright (University of Chicago Press, Illinois, 1940), pp. 281-283. Bernardino Ramazzini (1633-1714) was an Italian physician and 'epidemiologist'.
[91] *Ibid.*, p. 283.
[92] *Ibid.*
[93] Campbell, *London Tradesman*, p. 193; Anon., *Book of Trades, or Library of the Useful Arts Part 2* (London, 1806), p. 81.
[94] Bmerc 13/1/1794.
[95] Campbell, *London Tradesman*, p. 193.
[96] Both pictures also depict a foreman/cutter or master cutting out materials in the foreground.
[97] *Crispin Anecdotes*, p. 46; Rule, *Experience of Labour*, p. 83.
[98] *Crispin Anecdotes*, p. 213.
[99] Campbell, *London Tradesman*, p. 193.
[100] *Ibid.*, pp. 338-339.
[101] *Annual Register*, 18/1/1764, p. 47; Brown, *Sixty Years' Gleanings*, p. 38.
[102] Winks, *Illustrious Shoemakers*, p. 25.
[103] R. Southey, *Letters from England* (London, 1807; 1951 edition edited with introduction by J. Simmons), p. 88; *Annual Register*, 1800, Vol. 42, p. 319.
[104] Brown, *Sixty Years' Gleanings*, p. 28, 30.
[105] *Ibid.*, p. 292.
[106] BQS, 15th March 1786, JQS/P.
[107] Lackington, *Memoirs*, p. 111.
[108] Brown, *Sixty Years' Gleanings*, p. 331.
[109] *Ibid.*
[110] Winks, *Illustrious Shoemakers*, p. 131, 133.
[111] Brown, *Sixty Years' Gleanings*, pp. 331-332.
[112] *Ibid.*
[113] BMBJ 17/5/1777.
[114] Lackington, *Memoirs*, p. 206.
[115] Ramazzini, *Diseases of Workers*, p. 283.
[116] *Ibid.*, pp. 283-285.
[117] Brown, *Sixty Years' Gleanings*, p. 167.
[118] Ramazzini, *Diseases of Workers*, p. 285.
[119] Annual Register, 1800, Vol. 42, p. 319.
[120] Brown, *Sixty Years' Gleanings*, pp. 331-332.
[121] *Ibid.*, p. 29.
[122] BMBJ 2/8/1777.
[123] Lackington, *Memoirs*, p. 183.
[124] Rees, *Art and Mystery*, p. 84.
[125] Baigent, 'Bristol in the 1770s', p. 119; Stoddard, *Bristol before the Camera*, p. 87.
[126] Journals of the House of Lords, Vol. 37, 1786, p. 515.
[127] Southey, *Letters from England*, p. 475; Stoddard, *Bristol before the Camera*, p. 87.
[128] Stoddard, *Bristol before the Camera*, p. 49.
[129] *Ibid.*, p. 46, 51.
[130] Stoddard, *Bristol before the Camera*, p. 14; E. Ralph, *The Streets of Bristol* (Bristol, 1981), p. 9.
[131] SFBJ 21/11/1778, 17/10/1789.
[132] Bgaz 22/7/1790.
[133] Lackington, *Memoirs*, p. 200.
[134] Winks, *Illustrious Shoemakers*, p. 33.
[135] L. D. Schwarz, *London in the Age of Industrialisation: Entrepreneurs, Labour Force and Living Conditions, 1700-1850* (Cambridge, 1992), p. 134, 141.
[136] Lackington, *Memoirs*, p. 200.
[137] Winks, *Illustrious Shoemakers*, p. 33.
[138] FFBJ 10/10/1789.
[139] Winks, *Illustrious Shoemakers*, pp. 311-312.
[140] Schwarz, *London in the Age of Industrialisation*, p. 139.
[141] Brown, *Sixty Years' Gleanings*, p. 299.
[142] Schwarz, *London in the Age of Industrialisation*, p. 139, 150.
[143] M. E. Fissell, *Patients, Power, and the Poor in Eighteenth-Century Bristol* (Cambridge, 1991), p. 66.
[144] A. V. Neale, *Medical Progress in Bristol: The Long Fox Memorial Lecture, 1963* (Bristol, 1964), p. 7.
[145] Winks, *Illustrious Shoemakers*, p. 302.
[146] BJ 7/8/1773.
[147] BJ 17/2/1776.
[148] Bgaz 9/3/1780.

[149] Bgaz 10/11/1796.
[150] Fissell, *Patients, Power and the Poor*, p. 18.
[151] BJ 9/12/1769.
[152] FFBJ 30/9/1775.
[153] *Ibid.*
[154] FFBJ 30/8/1783.
[155] FFBJ 14/1/1786.
[156] FFBJ 7/6/1783, Fissell, *Patients, Power and the Poor*, p. 65.
[157] E. Ralph, *Government of Bristol, 1373-1973* (Bristol, 1974); Neale, *Medical Progress in Bristol*, pp. 5-6. Other outlets of health care in eighteenth-century Bristol were provided by the 'Corporation of the Poor' who provided 'both inpatient and outpatient care through the workhouse', and also by the Corporation who offered a 'domiciliary health-care service'. See Fissell, *Patients, Power and the Poor*, pp. 102-103.
[158] B. Boss, 'The Bristol Infirmary, 1761-2 and the "laborious-industrious poor"', Ph.D. Thesis, University of Bristol, 1995, p. 40.
[159] *Ibid.*, p. 36.
[160] Fissell, *Patients, Power, and the Poor*, p. 96.
[161] *Ibid.*, p. 103.
[162] *Ibid.*, p. 104. Thus 'many Infirmary patients did not have local family', implying that the 'hospital played a similar role to that of the rural Poor Law in providing an alternative to domestic care'. p. 105.

Chapter 4: Diet, the Cost of Living and Real Wages in Bristol, 1769-1799

The last chapter examined the manner in which the parish of residence, housing and working conditions affected the quality of life for Bristol's shoemakers and tailors. This chapter measures living costs, wages, and real wages. It will therefore play a major role in laying the basis for understanding the impact of such issues on wage claims, a theme to be addressed in chapter five. This study is not concerned with long-term trends or national aggregations, unlike many surveys, but seeks instead to assess the situation that faced Bristol artisans in the last thirty years of the eighteenth century. Spending patterns of rural-based labourers are furnished because they provide the best example of extant budget weights for the period. Gaining the right weightings, that is the proportion of income allotted to each item, is an issue of key importance. By contrast with many previous studies, the question of budget weights is here wedded to a debate concerning diet and contemporary perceptions of necessity. Thus, staple living costs are considered in depth. Attitudes to certain foods are explored through evidence gleaned from Bristol newspapers as well as from artisan memoirs. Together these enable estimated weightings to be made for Bristol's shoemakers and tailors. Combined with a collection of prices gathered, these permit the construction of cost-of-living indices. Price analysis, without knowledge of earnings, is clearly limited in its use. Tailors' wages, the most reliable data, are therefore assessed in order to gauge real wage levels.

The Sample

Table 4:1 shows the distribution of annual income spent on various necessities for 78 labouring families across 11 southern English counties. These were collected between Easter 1787 and February 1793 by David Davies, a Berkshire clergyman, and Sir Frederick Eden and are hereafter referred to as the DE data.[1] While the Davies and Eden samples were national, this work draws exclusively upon the material that they compiled for the southern counties. Different consumption habits in the northern counties and in Scotland would have distorted the picture. And, as chapter two has shown, Bristol's artisans, although mobile, rarely moved beyond southern England. The geographic spread of this sample and the number of families of different sizes contained within it are represented in table 4:2. Only one budget of a Bristol family was obtained. However, six budgets for Gloucestershire and three for Somerset are also available with the result that ten of the 78 budgets originated either from within Bristol or from within reasonable proximity of the city.

Table 4:1 : Average Grocery Expenditure of 78 labouring families in Southern England, 1787-1793

Commodity	% of annual expenses	% of annual food expenses	% of families having this expense	% of expenses among users
Bread/Flour	47.04	63.20	100	47.04
Meat	12.49	16.78	97.44	12.65
Tea/Sugar/Butter	9.22	12.39	98.72	9.34
Cheese	3.74	5.02	62.82	5.68
Beer	1.08	1.45	21.79	4.95
Milk	0.60	0.81	17.95	3.33
Vegetables	0.26	0.35	6.41	4.12
Total Food	74.43	100	-	-
Candles/Soap	4.99	-	98.72	5.06
Fuel (e.g. coal)	3.70	-	84.62	4.38
Clothes	10.45	-	98.72	10.59
Rent	6.43	-	92.31	6.96
Total	100	-	-	-

Source: D. Davies, *The Case of Labourers in Husbandry Stated and Considered: with an Appendix containing a collection of accounts showing the earnings and expenses of labouring families in different parts of the kingdom* (Bath, 1795; 1977 Reprint), pp. 136-183.; F. M. Eden, *The State of the Poor: or An History of the Labouring Classes in England, from the Conquest to the Present Period* (London, 1797; 1994 Reprint), p. 15, 204, 433-34, 547, 585, 645. Of the 78 families sampled, 72 were drawn from Davies's study and 6 from Eden.

Table 4:2 : Breakdown of DE sample by Geographical Distribution and Family Size

Counties	Number of Families	% of Families
Berkshire	11	14.10%
Bristol	1	1.28%
Cornwall	18	23.08%
Dorset	9	11.54%
Gl'stershire	6	7.69%
Hampshire	9	11.54%
Middlesex	1	1.28%
Northants	7	8.97%
Oxfordshire	1	1.28%
Somerset	3	3.86%
Surrey	12	15.38%
Total	78	100%
Family Sizes		
3 People	5 (15)	6.41%
4 People	11 (44)	14.10%
5 People	18 (90)	23.08%
6 People	21 (126)	26.92%
7 People	17 (119)	21.79%
8 People	4 (32)	5.14%
9 People	2 (18)	2.56%
Total	78 (444)	100%

Source: D. Davies, *The Case of Labourers in Husbandry Stated and Considered: with an Appendix containing a collection of accounts showing the earnings and expenses of labouring families in different parts of the kingdom* (Bath, 1795; 1977 Reprint), pp. 136-183.; F. M. Eden, *The State of the Poor: or An History of the Labouring Classes in England, from the Conquest to the Present Period* (London, 1797; 1994 Reprint), p. 15, 204, 433-34, 547, 585, 645.

The range of data used here compares well with other similar studies. Neale's study of Bath, for example, relied on just three budgets, for an artisan, labourer, and pauper.[2] Family sizes within the sample varied from 3 to 9 members. Davies mentions that 'families with four or five young children are common in country parishes'.[3] Given that difference in family size affects spending distribution, it is important to consider any potential disparities between the DE sample and the families of Bristol artisans. In fact, the DE data does not appear to be unrepresentative of Bristol's artisans in this respect. Bristol's shoemakers claimed in 1777 to have to provide for a 'Wife and five or seven Children', while Bristol's tailors cited in 1773 their need to support a 'Wife and 4 or 5 Children'.[4] Urban artisans, like rural labourers, often had large families. Further evidence testifies to this. In September 1797, for example, the suicide of a Bath tailor in September 1797 was reported to have left his ten offspring 'in great distress', while the accidental death of a Portsmouth shoemaker in 1799 left 'eight children' without a father.[5] Furthermore, the artisan autobiographies of James Lackington and John Brown reveal that the authors were one of eleven and six children respectively.[6]

The validity of the DE sample was also reinforced by making a comparison between the earnings of those in the DE sample with Bristol's two trades. Too wide a differential would again have distorted the picture. While Davies thought agricultural labourers could earn twelve shillings per week for 'four months in the year', he concluded that their average earnings did not actually 'exceed 8s a week'. Eden reported that, in 1797, 'common labourers' in Bristol earned between ten and fifteen shillings per week.[7] In 1796 Bristol's shoemakers could earn 11½ shillings per week at maximum levels of production. In the summer of 1796, Bristol's tailors earned 14 shillings per week, their highest seasonal earnings period.[8] This suggests that, in terms of earnings, therefore, Bristol's shoemakers and tailors fell into Eden's category of 'common labourers'. Other evidence supports this conclusion. Wage assessments, conducted by magistrates in south-west England during the earlier eighteenth century, show that a labourer was only expected to allow 8 per cent more of his income to food than a master carpenter. This suggests a relatively close correlation in living standards, especially considering that the two groups together represented the top and bottom of the 'working-class hierarchy'.[9] Given this evidence, and the fairly close correlation between the earnings of those contained in the DE sample and those of Bristol's journeymen, it seems clear that the DE material provides a good starting point from which to measure the spending patterns of Bristol's shoemakers and tailors. Use of a range of existing historical studies, combined with material from Bristol newspapers expressing concerns about prices, and more fragmentary evidence from autobiographies, together with

analysis of the DE material, therefore lays the basis for a fuller understanding of the diets of Bristol's artisans.

Eighteenth-Century Diet

According to Hudson, the question of the proportions of income awarded to different items, known as weights by standard-of-living historians, should be considered as 'a matter of historical judgement' rather than a purely statistical issue.[10] The matter of weights, therefore, also touches the heart of issues concerning what eighteenth-century society perceived to be necessities in terms of diet. Table 4:1 illustrates this. The sample shows that, on average, the 78 labouring families laid out 74.43 per cent of their income on foodstuffs. This is an enormous proportion compared to modern patterns. Studies show that 'households in most Western countries spend between 20 per cent and 33 per cent of their disposable income on diet'.[11]

The data compiled by Davies and Eden has had substantial influence upon historical knowledge of late eighteenth-century budgets. It has been used, for example, by Phelps Brown and Hopkins (hereafter PBH), and by Carole Shammas, and Charles Feinstein among others.[12] Given that the proportions in the DE data cannot be automatically transferred to the experience of Bristol's artisans, it is necessary to discuss the average budgets of the 78 labouring families in some depth, together with an assessment of empirical evidence from Bristol and artisan memoirs.

A starting point must be made with bread, because as Table 4:1 makes clear this item represented 47.04 per cent of all expenses, and a massive 63.20 per cent of food expenditure. Not surprisingly, given that bread was the most important staple food in the period, every family in the sample consumed this item. Thus, Davies himself remarked that 'bread makes the principal part of the food of all poor families' and 'almost the whole of the food of all such large families'.[13] In remarkable conformity with the DE sample, Thomas Ruggles, an eighteenth-century commentator, asserted in 1792 that 'everybody knows that bread covers at least two-thirds of the expenditure on food'.[14] The importance of bread in eighteenth-century society was also illustrated by the writings of its most learned figures. Johnson, for example, provided additional definitions of bread as meaning 'to get sufficient for support without luxury' and representing 'food in general', while Daniel Defoe's heroine *Moll Flanders* talked of independence in terms of being 'able to get my bread by my own work'.[15] Bread was therefore a ubiquitous necessity. This kind of evidence has provided the basis for scholars, including E. P. Thompson, to claim that while

'the labouring people in the eighteenth century did not live by bread alone' many certainly 'lived very largely on bread'.[16]

In southern England bread was largely made of wheat. Davies claimed that wheaten bread was 'the only good thing of which they (the labourers) can have a sufficiency', as bread made of this grain was 'constantly growing more and more into general use among the lower classes of people' and was 'their luxury'.[17] Frederick Eden likewise felt that wheat bread was an 'essential part of the diet of a labourer in the Southern parts of England', while Johnson's definition of wheat in the mid-eighteenth century concluded that it was 'the grain of which bread is chiefly made'.[18] Thompson reckoned that by the 1790s 'two-thirds of the population were eating wheat' bread, while both Salaman and Petersen argued that, 'by 1770 wheat bread had become the chief food of a majority of the British people'.[19] Thus, while some workers in the North and Scotland subsisted on rye and barley bread, according to Arthur Young writing in 1767, such bread was 'looked on with a sort of horror even by poor cottagers' in southern England. In the south, Young commented, they demanded 'the finest and whitest wheat bread'.[20] This kind of knowledge is important to the weighting of budgets, because it reveals that wheat should form the majority of the share allotted to grains.

While the prices of bread and other foodstuffs is considered later, the popular conception in this period that prices were rising inexorably, provides important insights into which foods were considered necessities. Indeed, so widespread was this idea that Shammas attributes the origin of the surveys taken by Davies and Eden to concern over 'sky-rocketing food prices'.[21] Davies attributed the high cost of bread to the development of a wholesale market in corn. This meant that between the farmer and the customer there stood not just the miller, but also the 'mealman' and the 'shopkeeper' both of whom received a 'profit out of the poor man's earnings'.[22] Eden noted that the 'labouring classes' of Hereford complained that it was difficult to buy corn in small quantities, since the 'millers and mealmen buy it in large quantities and extract a large profit from the consumer'.[23] John Brown, the London shoemaker, noted the importance of small-scale retailing for the poor. Thus, the shop he lodged above retailed groceries such as bread 'in the smallest possible quantities' to 'the poor'.[24] According to Thompson, by the late eighteenth century, 'marketing procedures' had become 'less transparent' because millers and dealers 'were in a better position to hold stocks and keep the market high'.[25] High prices naturally affected the proportion of income consumed by bread. Thus, Thompson reckoned that when 'prices were high more than one-half of the weekly budget of a labourer's family might be spent

on bread', while the 1789 economic crisis in France led to artisans there spending 80 per cent of their wages on bread.[26] The concerns of Davies and Eden were, therefore, far from isolated. Thus, Thompson reflected that 'after 1750 each year of scarcity was accompanied by a spate of pamphlets and letters to the press'.[27] Poole has likewise drawn attention to the ways in which Bristol newspapers often blamed 'hoarders and hucksters' for high prices and 'offered a natural platform for public demands for lower prices'.[28] This kind of evidence allows one to assess the importance of bread in Bristol itself.

The importance of bread to the local populace was recognised by the civic elite on Bristol Corporation. Since the 1753 riot of Kingswood colliers over corn shipments from the port, the Corporation had made great efforts to lessen the effects of high corn prices on local people.[29] In January 1775, for example, the anticipated arrival of one hundred thousand bushels of wheat was expected to reduce the 'price of that most necessary article', and, at least one Bristol baker advertised cheaper bread on the basis of the 'large Quantity of Wheat imported'.[30] In July 1795, a local news editorial congratulated the 'wise and salutary' foresight of the Corporation for 'purchasing a large quantity of wheat and flour' in anticipation of the present 'scarcity'.[31] Bristol's civic dignitaries also organised collections when the poor were felt to be in need, and this always consisted, at least in part, of bread. In February 1776, for example, two thousand of the 'Labouring Poor' received 'Bread and Money' in the artisan parish of St. Philip and Jacob, while in January 1789 bread was sold at 'half price' to the poor of St. Nicholas.[32] In July 1795 and October 1799 Bristol's Quarter Sessions banned the sale of bread of a 'superior quality' than 'STANDARD WHEATEN BREAD (*sic*)' in order not to waste grain. Furthermore, during the 1795 crisis a Bristol committee established to relieve the poor, advised 'all RANKS in SOCIETY (*sic*)' to save bread by purchasing meat and vegetables. This, they urged, was in order to save an 'Article so necessary for the Poor' since they 'are not in a Situation to procure other Food equally well suited to their Comfort and Support'.[33] However, such sentiments were not always so prevalent. One local editorial, for example, lambasted 'the working people' for not following the example of 'the higher and middling classes' in adopting measures to reduce the 'consumption of bread in their families'.[34] This article urged workers to substitute items such as potatoes for bread, a piece of advice with national resonance and one commonly opposed by working men. According to Salaman, it was only between 1775 and 1800 'that the potato began to assume a place of importance in the dietary of the working classes of England'. Members of the 'clergy' were 'foremost in recommending the potato because of its cheapness' as a substitute for bread.[35] Government encouraged this. In 1794 and 1795, for example, the Board of Agriculture reacted to bad

harvests by publishing articles advising workers to adopt potatoes as a 'cheap substitute for wheat'.[36] In Bristol this strategy appears to have had a longer lineage. As early as December 1772, for example, the Bristol press advocated the 'free importation of Potatoes' due to their utility as 'an excellent substitute' for bread at a 'time of scarcity'.[37] In 1775, the importation of two thousand tonnes of potatoes to Bristol was thought to be a 'great relief to the poor at this time of scarcity'.[38] Potatoes were also often among items distributed by the city's relief committees. This was the case, for example, in February 1776, February 1795, and April 1796.[39] In August 1796, an instruction in the local press advised making 'good wholesome bread' from potatoes, while in February 1800 the 'Rich' and 'Opulent' were hailed for responding to the scarcity by substituting potatoes for bread 'at their dinner and supper'.[40] The potato was, therefore, resorted to not from preference, but 'as a result of actual want'. Thus, Eden noted, in 1797, that high prices caused labourers in Clyst St George, Devon, to make 'great use of potatoes'.[41] Unlike many of his contemporaries, Davies was far from enthusiastic about the substitution of potatoes for bread, writing that the potato 'has the advantage in cheapness only' as 'wheat is superior in all other respects'.[42] The prevailing opinion in eighteenth-century England was that the potato had little appeal. One agricultural writer exclaimed, for example, that 'Potatoes are good for none but swine and those they won't fatten'.[43] Jones and Spang argue that 'the majority of eighteenth-century Europeans' felt 'that potatoes were unfit for human consumption'.[44] However, what Salaman terms 'the battle of the white loaf', was 'won in 1795'. Many pamphlets written at this time championed bread consumption. These included one by a Taunton writer who insisted that since 'the Poor' eat little but bread this should be of the 'most nourishing kind'.[45] The indifference of 'working people' to the civic elite's plan in August 1795 to reduce wheaten bread consumption appears to conform to such sentiments. Other evidence likewise indicates that journeymen perceived potatoes as items of last resort. In June 1777, for example, journeymen shoemakers in Bristol complained that their wages could only maintain a diet of 'Potatoes and Salt'.[46] While this was undoubtedly a partly rhetorical statement, it is nevertheless also revealing about their attitudes to this food.

Meat formed the second highest component of expenditure, comprising 12.49 per cent of total expenses, 16.67 per cent of the food budget, and was consumed by 97.44 per cent of the families in the DE sample. While, at first sight, this appears to indicate an almost universal and relatively healthy level of meat consumption, the proportion of income spent does not necessarily equate to the amount of food consumed. This is especially the case if the commodity is expensive. Thus, while meat may have been the second foodstuff in

terms of spending levels, it was not the second most common item that labourers actually ate. Rather, falling meat consumption was closely related to the growth in consumption of wheaten bread. Thus, Davies, for instance, drew a parallel between high meat prices and the reduced use of rye, barley and oatmeal bread. These, he argued, had been previously acceptable when 'poor people' could eat meat as an accompaniment to a 'coarser kind of bread'.[47] The use of wheat bread, he argued, was therefore a result of 'their inability to buy meat', since for the price of one pound of meat one could have 'three pounds of wheaten bread'. The latter, Davies commented, 'will go at least twice as far as one pound of meat'.[48] It, therefore, appears that meat was becoming a luxury in labouring families. Other evidence supports this. Among Gloucestershire labourers, for example, Davies found that a 'pound of bacon' would be made to last for a 'fortnight or three weeks', while among his own Berkshire parishioners he found few families who 'can afford themselves more than 1 lb of meat weekly'.[49] Eden likewise noted that in Berkshire, 'the Poor here seldom taste fresh meat', while Kent labourers in 1795 had reduced their meat intake compared to ten years since, with the result that they 'now seldom taste it in winter'.[50]

The importance of meat to the Bristol population was illustrated in 1772 when 'a committee of gentlemen subscribed £2,000 to set up their own slaughter house and successfully undermined butchers combinations in the market'.[51] It was reported that they sought to reduce 'the staple commodities of life to a reasonable price'. Meat was among 'their chief objects', and the butchers were lambasted for throwing meat away rather than selling it to the poor.[52] Likewise, in August 1796 a butcher was condemned for throwing beef into the river when 'many necessitous and industrious families' were deprived of the article through 'its excessive high price'.[53] That meat was regarded as a necessity is further shown by the inclusion of beef in relief supplies to the poor at times of hardship, such as in February 1776, January 1789, and February 1795, for example.[54] The importance of meat, especially beef, was also shown by the intervention of the civic elite at times of need. In June 1795, Bristol's magistrates offered a bounty on imported fish, as a remedy to lower beef prices, at a time when a riotous crowd had seized meat from a Bristol butcher.[55] Civic intervention concerning the bread supply in 1795 meant that rioting occurred over meat and fish prices, rather than bread.[56]

This type of evidence suggests that meat formed an integral part of the diet of working men in Bristol. References to meat in the autobiographies of John Brown and James Lackington also show that it was a valued part of the diet, albeit one which was not always affordable. Even although John Brown was a single journeyman living in London without the expense

of a family, meat did not automatically feature in his diet. While one supper included 'four nice rashers of bacon' that contributed to a 'most excellent meal', Brown described a period in which he had eaten 'poorly' with the result that the 'beefsteak and onions' bought for him on joining the army was portrayed as a 'hearty meal'.[57] James Lackington and his wife appeared to fare worse when they were working in shoemaking in Bristol. Lackington mentioned that they 'made use of (meat) but little and that little we boiled and made broth of'. This seems to have been part of their decision to move to London where they hoped to leave behind the 'incessant suffering and semi-starvation (that) seemed inevitable' in Bristol.[58] Other evidence also indicates that the plight of the provincial shoemaker was comparable with that of common labourers. Thus William Carey, for example, a shoemaker in Leicester recalled a period in 1789 that left his family in 'a state bordering on starvation' when they had 'passed many weeks without animal food'.[59] The Bristol situation grew desperate at times of high prices; a local news editorial noted in February 1796, for example, that the 'poor artisan and labourer' could not 'procure for his family a taste of meat' even 'one day in the week'.[60] It appears, therefore, that while meat was perceived as a necessity, its price meant that it was often, in practice, a luxury.

Unfortunately, the budgets collected by both Davies and Eden give aggregate figures only for proportions spent on tea, sugar, and butter. However, the loss of specificity that a more detailed breakdown might have provided is compensated for by the knowledge that families saw these commodities as forming *one* component of their spending. This is not surprising considering the use of these commodities to provide flavour and sweetness to meals, rather than to form the substance of meals in themselves.[61] They, therefore, formed no small part of spending, representing 9.22 per cent of total expenses, 12.39 per cent of the food budget, and were consumed by 98.72 per cent of the families in the DE sample. This data shows that they undoubtedly formed an *essential* component of what made a meal palatable. Sugar, in particular, had metamorphosed from being an expensive luxury in the seventeenth century to an item in common usage by the later eighteenth century. Growing imports reduced prices.[62] By the 1790s sugar imports stood at 24 lb per capita, and the fact that a person required 'about 24lb a year' of sugar to be 'regularly sweetening food or drink', suggests that sugar was mass consumed in the late eighteenth century.[63]

Commodities that were considered to be necessities, therefore, varied over time. Thus, while coffee and sugar had once been 'luxury goods', by the end of the eighteenth century they had become everyday items which it was 'difficult to imagine life without'.[64] In Britain 'caffeine drinks' had become 'items of mass consumption' in the century after

1650 and were regularly used by '25% or more of the adult population'.[65] Southey attributed the popularity of tea to the fact that it was 'very cheap', despite rising duties in this period.[66] According to Davies, high milk and beer prices meant that tea was often the 'last resource' for working people. Tea and bread, he commented, could furnish 'one meal for a whole family every day' at a cost of just 'one shilling a week'.[67] Tea was therefore commonly consumed during meals. Thus, for example, the family of a Portsmouth dock labourer were said to 'generally breakfast on tea', while Kent labourers in 1795 drank 'tea at all their meals'.[68] Tea likewise regularly formed a part of John Brown's meals in London, while James Lackington's time in 1770s Bristol as a single man often included periods living on a diet of 'bread and tea'.[69] Later, when he and his wife were on hard times, Lackington 'fried some wheat' and then boiled it in water to make a 'tolerable substitute for coffee'.[70] However, despite its importance, the experience of the Lackingtons also shows that such drinks were sacrificed when times were really bad.

The general cheapness of sugar and caffeine drinks was in marked contrast to the expense of butter. According to Davies, this item was so expensive that 'working people can now scarcely afford to use them in the smallest quantities'.[71] Both dairy and poultry items appeared to form an expensive part of the diet. While Bristol newspapers made no mention of tea or sugar, perhaps due to their cheapness or the fact that their being imported meant that there was little prospect of controls, concerns over butter prices filled more newspaper space than both bread and meat. A letter written in July 1778 described butter as among the 'necessaries of life' and complained that profiteering traders were responsible for enhanced prices.[72] Another correspondent lamented that, even in plentiful times, the price of butter was not lowered due to the practice of those with 'opulent fortunes' paying 'whatever price the farmer asks', so keeping prices high which he felt must be 'distressing to the poor'.[73] Unfair marketing practices were often blamed for high prices. In May 1790, for example, the 'exorbitant price' of butter was blamed on a 'combination among the market-people here', while in 1795 and 1796 a boycott of butter was advised until the price was lowered, an action described as displaying 'compassion to the poorer part of the community'.[74] The sense of butter as a necessity is reinforced by the action taken in May 1797 when there was a 'considerable degree of riot in our markets' over butter prices when the 'poor served themselves'.[75] In December 1799, newspaper editorials once again blamed those paying high butter prices for doing an 'injury to the poor' and the 'community at large'.[76] Thus, butter appears to have been seen as a necessity for all sections of the community in Bristol.

Cheese constituted only 3.74 per cent of expenses in the DE sample, accounting for 5.02 per cent of the food budgets, and consumed by only 62.82 per cent of the sample families. This was undoubtedly due to its expense. Davies remarked that 'little cheese is used' among Gloucestershire labourers, and that many Dorset labourers ate no cheese while Berkshire and Cornish labourers thought of cheese as 'the dearest article they can buy'.[77] However, the cost of cheese was different in different regions and localities. Thus, Eden discovered that the family of a Portsmouth dock-labourer were said to breakfast 'sometimes on bread and cheese', while among Kent labourers cheese formed a part of 'their usual diet'.[78] John Brown described how he consumed cheese and bread numerous times in his memoirs and described such events as a 'frugal meal' or a 'humble repast'.[79] Workhouses in Bristol, Dorset, Hampshire, Berkshire, Hertfordshire and Northampton all included bread and cheese among their suppers.[80] This type of evidence suggests that cheese consumption differed widely between different places, a factor that was presumably largely determined by price levels.

This leaves three foodstuffs, milk, vegetables and beer from the DE sample, each of which accounted for only tiny shares of the budgets. Fewer than one-fifth of families bought milk, and Davies lamented that 'milk is not to be had in many places for love or money'. That the poor were 'very much at a loss for due supplies of milk' he attributed to the fact that farmers found the veal market more profitable.[81] Thus, a labourer's family from Blandford, Dorset consumed only a 'very little milk', while 'no milk' was used in a Portsmouth dock labourer's family.[82] That artisan autobiographies never mention milk consumption, and that milk never features in concerns in Bristol over high prices, also suggests that it did not form a crucial element of an artisan's diet. While it is hard to imagine that artisans never consumed vegetables, they are never mentioned in artisan memoirs or newspaper records. Vegetables formed only a small element of the expenses of rural labourers, a mere 0.35 per cent. This was undoubtedly due to their ability to grow their own produce, an option not available to many urban-dwelling artisans. Beer appears to have been more widely consumed. John Brown drank beer with most of his meals, especially those consisting of just bread and cheese, and Southey noted that 'beer is the common drink' of working men.[83] Another London shoemaker, George Bloomfield, remarked that 'every day' the 'boy from the public-house came for the pewter pots, and to hear what porter was wanted'.[84] Of course, the consumption of beer for dietary purposes was supplemented by recreational drinking. When James Lackington arrived in London, for instance, he found that Sundays among 'the lower class' were spent in 'getting drunk' and 'fighting', and remarked that he had seen 'much of the same kind in Bristol'.[85] There is also evidence that

Bristol's tailors spent a considerable amount of time consuming alcohol. In July 1771, for example, Leonard Bowsher, a journeyman tailor from St. Philip and Jacob, was forced to apologise to his master, on pain of prosecution, through an official notice in the press for having defamed his master 'in several Publick-Houses (*sic*)'.[86] Bowsher had apparently spent considerable periods drinking in pubs. In April 1790, a letter published in the press concerning the tailors' strike which was then in progress earmarked the 'keepers of the Tap-houses…..frequented by… journeymen (*sic*)' for blame, and the writer desired action that would 'deprive the Ale house-keepers of their licences'.[87] While such evidence of recreational drinking provides little information about the amounts spent on beer for dietary purposes, it suggests, nevertheless, that beer made up a fairly large component of expenses among urban artisans.

While the foodstuffs that formed the core of the rural labourers' diet were also important to Bristol's artisans, it is necessary to provide an adjusted measure of weights in order to take account of the different situation in Bristol. Table 4:3 displays adjusted weights for Bristol. The ways in which these were calculated is explained below.

Table 4:3 : Best Estimate of Budget Weights for Bristol's Tailors and Shoemakers

Commodity	% of annual expenses^^	Index weightings
Grains (3)*	40.00 (47.04)	40 (w=36; b=3.6; o= 0.4)
Meat (2)^	12.49	12.49 (b= 6.25; m= 6.24)
TSB (2)**	9.22	9.22 (s= 4.61; b = 4.61)
Cheese	3.74	3.74
Beer	4.95 (1.08)	4.95
Milk	0.00 (0.60)	
Veg	0.00 (0.26)	
Total Food	70.40 (74.43)	70.40
Tallow (Candles/Soap)	7.70 (4.99)	7.70
Coal	5.00 (3.70)	5.00
Clothes	4.04 (10.45)	4.04
Rent	12.86 (6.43)	12.86
Total	100	100

* Prices for wheat, barley, and oats were obtained. The sub-weighting based on the preference in the Bristol region has been made as follows; Wheat = 90%, Barley = 9%, Oats = 1%. (Petersen, *Bread*, p. 198)
^ Prices for beef and mutton were the most consistent. The two meats have been awarded equal shares.
** No tea prices were discovered for Bristol, though given its cheapness, the lack of data will not undermine the portion now assumed by sugar and butter. These latter two commodities have been awarded equal shares.
^^ The figures in brackets represent the proportions from Table 4:1, allowing an easy comparison.

Bread has been re-weighted at 40 per cent of the budget, just 7 per cent less than in the DE sample. This figure may appear surprising considering Schwarz's claim that an 'index for artisans' should weight cereals at 20 per cent.[88] However, this study, unlike others, is concerned with short-term rather than long-term prices. Although PBH also adopted 20 per

cent as their weighting for bread in a study that embraced the period between the fifteenth and twentieth centuries, their DE sample weighted bread at 53 per cent for the late eighteenth century.[89] In addition, the term 'artisan' covered many varieties of workers, and Schwarz's weighting relates to London, whereas this study is only concerned with two specific trades in Bristol. The decision to weight bread at a level nearer to that of labourers than London artisans can be understood through the following example. In 1779, a group of journeymen saddlers in London drew up a wage claim in which they allocated an amount to bread that was equivalent to 24 per cent of their income.[90] To adopt this rate for Bristol's shoemakers and tailors would, however, be unwise for the following reasons. Firstly, 1779 was a year of low wheat prices, which tends to understate the usual proportion of income spent. Secondly, our knowledge of wage rates for Bristol's journeymen tailors and shoemakers illustrates that the 4s 11d that the London saddlers expected to spend on bread weekly would have accounted for more than 24 per cent of the weekly wages of the Bristol men. This comparison is enhanced by the fact that wheat prices in the West and in London at this time were fairly similar.[91] This suggests that if a Bristol tailor earned 14 shillings per week during the summer of 1777, 4s 11d on bread would have represented 35 per cent of his wage. This takes no account of the fact that summer was his best-paid time of year and that underemployment and lower wages tended to prevail in the winter months.[92] In the same year Bristol's shoemakers, working at piece-rates, earned 10 shillings a week. The saddlers' expenditure on bread would have claimed 49 per cent of these wages, again taking no account of lost time.[93] Other evidence supports this picture. In 1770, for example, James Lackington had a mere four shillings and six pence to spend on food during two months of bad weather. This represented 50 per cent of his weekly wage of 9 shillings, and suggests he could afford little other than bread.[94] An average of the 1777 proportions among the two Bristol trades is 42%, meaning that a 40% budget share for bread is conservative given the cheap prices in 1779. Finally, Neale's study of Bath workers' living standards weighted bread at 52 per cent, again more than the DE sample, and the Schumpeter-Gilboy Index also weighted bread at 40 per cent.[95]

Although some indexes, such as the S-G index and the Schwarz index, which weigh meat at 20 and 25 per cent respectively, differ from the DE results, other evidence suggests that the latter was more accurate for Bristol artisans.[96] Thus, Neale, for example, allocated 13 per cent of the budgets of Bath workers to meat, a figure roughly comparable with the DE weighting of 12.49 per cent, and the PBH weighting of 12%.[97] On this basis, this study has left the Bristol weighting unchanged at 12.49 per cent for meat. This decision finds support in other, more qualitative, evidence. Lackington, for example, clearly ate little meat while

in Bristol. This is substantiated by the evidence of the local press on high meat prices, and the fact that meat did not feature regularly in Brown's account of his experiences in London. This evidence therefore suggests a weighting consistent with the DE sample should be used.

The weights for tea, sugar, butter, and cheese have also been left unchanged at 9.22 per cent and 3.74 per cent respectively. Although London's saddlers spent 21 per cent of their projected wages on such items, this should not alter the weightings here. This is especially so because their greater level of earnings allowed them to purchase a greater quantity of non-bread foods.[98] Beer has been raised to 4.95 per cent, rendering it consistent with the proportion of the budget that this item claimed among the 21.79 per cent of families who listed it as an expense in table 4:1. Milk and vegetables have been excluded from the weightings on the basis of a lack of empirical evidence, including, in particular, a lack of price information.

Overall the new weighting allocates 70.4 per cent to food, compared to 74.43 per cent in the DE sample. While this reduction may appear small, the allocation is actually 65.45 per cent if one takes beer out of the equation. London's journeymen saddlers' statement of spending appeared to allocate 68.2 per cent for food, a very similar ratio considering they did not list beer as an item.[99] Given that the saddlers' proportionate spending on bread was much less than that for Bristol's journeymen, this further justifies the decision to keep the proportions of other foods at a low level. Thus, the same amount of bread claimed a lesser proportion of the saddlers' income, allowing them to spend more on other commodities than was available to Bristol artisans.

The most important alterations that need to be made with regards to the DE data is the proportions levied on non-food essentials such as housing (rent), light (candles), heat (coal), and clothing. Rent posed the biggest challenge in terms of historical accuracy in terms both of weightings on the one hand, and reliable data on the other. The likely difference between Bristol's artisans and the DE sample are evident in Burnett's claim that for 'the urban working classes' rent was 'probably' the largest expense after food, since unlike rural labourers, there 'were no free cottages and no possibility of running up a shack on the common'.[100] Likewise, Lindert and Williamson argue that urban workers spent a relatively smaller proportion on food and a higher one on housing compared to rural labourers.[101] Schwarz claims that the 'poorest workers' in London paid around 20 per cent of their income in rents in 1848, while those such as 'tailors' paid around 16 per cent of

their income. Similarly Tucker argues that 'rents of artisans' in eighteenth-century London tended to equal one-sixth of their weekly wage', being 16.66 per cent of this income.[102] There is some evidence to suggest that London rents, in terms of the actual amounts paid, were on a similar level to those in Bristol. Thus, when James and Nancy Lackington got married at Bristol in 1770 they acquired 'ready-furnished lodgings' at a charge of two shillings and sixpence.[103] This was the very same amount paid by John Brown, the London shoemaker. George has posited that the 'standard rent of a London artisan' before 1795 was '2s 6d a week' for a 'furnished room'.[104] In 1779 the journeymen saddlers in London also allocated '2s 6d' towards 'lodging', accounting for 12 per cent of their income. This amount would have claimed 25 per cent of a shoemaker's wage in Bristol in 1777 based on earnings of 10s per week, and 17.86 per cent of the Bristol tailor's earnings at a summer-time rate of 14 shillings per week.[105] Unfortunately, there is no way of knowing whether the rent paid by the Lackingtons in Bristol was generally paid by other artisans in the city. The problems of reliable evidence are compounded by a lack of any reliable rent data for the period. Thus Flinn posits that 'long runs of rents for comparable properties are virtually non-existent', while Lindert and Williamson criticised previous price indices for omitting rents, yet their own rent series was based on only a 'few dozen cottages in Trentham, Staffordshire' which can hardly be taken as representative.[106] However, Neale's study of Bath managed to acquire useful rent data from eighty-one 'working-class houses' during the 1830s. Even though they did not reveal the 'extent of sub-letting' or the 'cost of a single room', Neale used this data to provide a weighting of 13 per cent for rent, in comparison to the S-G Index which weighed rent and fuel at 15 per cent.[107] Rather than rely on unreliable empirical evidence it was decided to mirror the Bristol rent weighting on that for Bath, as the new weighting of 12.86 per cent is double that for labourers among the DE sample. This is a conservative compromise made the more necessary by the lack of any reliable rent series for Bristol. This study has, however, been able to draw upon Feinstein's new series, compiled by using tax assessments to gain an average rent by aggregating the rents and dividing by 'the corresponding number of inhabited houses'.[108] While Feinstein overcame the lack of data between 1770 and 1800 by extrapolating the figures backwards, the stability in his rent-series until the mid-1790s does correspond with George's portrayal of London rents being stagnant until this juncture.[109]

The proportion of income spent on coal and candles was raised above the level spent by rural labourers, to 5.00 per cent and 7.70 per cent respectively. This was on the basis that, as seen in chapter two, shoemakers largely worked indoors and at home because the trade was based on outworking. These workers would therefore have needed to use more light

and heat in their homes compared to agricultural labourers who worked out of doors. According to Lackington, the expense of rent, coal, and candles in Bristol meant that 'we had but little left for purchasing provisions'.[110] This was especially so during the harsh winter months. Lackington mentions that a two-month period of 'extremely severe weather' left him with just 4½ shillings for food, from a weekly wage of nine shillings. During such periods the real strain presumably arose from the increased need for coal and candles, rather than rent which represented a less varying and more stable expense.[111] The high level of winter living costs was emphasised by striking journeymen shoemakers in March 1796 who claimed that 'candles in winter cost much'.[112] However, the weightings should not be biased too much in favour of high winter consumption. With this in mind, the coal weighting was not raised significantly. While Davies felt that his budgets had underestimated coal costs, it being 'much below what that article costs in many places', Bristol largely received its coal from the nearby 'mines at Kingswood' and so would have been relatively cheaper.[113] The proportion consumed by candles was raised more significantly, by over 50 per cent, to fully represent the importance of this item in allowing shoemakers to work long hours. The proportion assumed by clothes has been drastically reduced to 4.04 per cent, from 10.45 per cent in the DE sample, for the following reasons. Most importantly, shoemakers and tailors would have undoubtedly been able to make footwear and clothes for themselves, on a cheaper basis than was available to rural labourers. The prices of clothes are another item largely obscured by time, though this study draws upon a series collated by Feinstein, which reflects the growing importance of 'cotton fabrics relative to those made of wool or linen'.[114] Therefore given data that may have had only the flimsiest of relevance to Bristol, in addition to our lack knowledge of how often artisans would have looked to furnish themselves with clothing, a low weighting was felt to be the best option.

BRISTOL PRICES AND THE COST OF LIVING

Having gathered the most realistic weightings possible from the surviving records, the next step is to gather relevant prices in order to construct a cost-of-living index for Bristol. This requires as many Bristol prices as possible and these were found in Bristol's newspapers. For the years in which prices are known the goods and measures are consistently commensurate, allowing monthly averages to be converted into annual ones. Prices were wholesale rather than retail, though this is consistent with the practice of every preceding study of the standard of living.[115] Recently, Feinstein has written that 'wholesale and institutional prices', including those for food, mirrored 'closely what is known of the

Table 4:4: Bristol Food Prices – Yearly Averages, 1769-1799 (in Shillings/Pence)*

Year	Wheat	Barley	Oats	Beef	Mutton	Sugar	Butter	Cheese	Tallow^
1769	6/2	2/2½	1/7½						
1770	5/2	2/10	1/10						
1771	6/½	¾	2/-						43/8¼
1772	6/9½	3/7	2/½						46/9¼
1773	6/10	3/7	2/-						45/2½
1774	6/9	3/4½	2/1½						40/11½
1775	6/2	3/2	2/-						40/3¾
1776	4/5½	2/9½	1/8½						39/-
1777	5/5	2/5	1/10½						40/9¾
1778	5/4½	3/2	1/9½						41/3
1779									
1780									
1781									
1782									
1783									
1784									
1785	5/6		2/2½						
1786									
1787									
1788	5/6	3/-	2/1						
1789	6/6	3/1	2/½			46/-	50/-	32/6	43/10¾
1790	7/1	3/5½	2/3½			54/11	72/6	41/10	46/5½
1791	6/1½	3/5½	2/1	41/9½	-/5	65/1½	66/6¼	45/-	44/1
1792	5/1	3/3	2/½	42/3	-/4¾	59/6	58/9	51/2	47/¾
1793	5/6	3/6½	2/4	41/1	-/5	63/6	63/1¾	48/10½	47/8¼
1794	6/5½	4/-	2/7½	41/1½	-/5	59/3	69/4½	49/11½	46/2½
1795	9/5	4/9½	2/11½	44/1½	-/5¼	79/3	71/5	49/11½	51/5½
1796	8/11½	4/4½	2/7	45/8½	-/5½	81/4	73/-	47/-	59/3½
1797									
1798	8/3	4/-	2/5	50/-	-/5½	80/9	73/3	45/3	53/4
1799	8/4	4/5½	3/1½	55/-	-/6½	84/6	75/7¼	48/7½	59/5

* The weights and prices were as follows:-
Wheat, Barley and Oats = per Bushel
Beef, Sugar, Butter, Cheese and Tallow = per Hundredweight (cwt)
Mutton = per Pound

Sources and Methods:- The above prices were collected from various extant issues of the Bristol newspaper press between 1769 and 1800. Every surviving issue of a Bristol newspaper was searched, being especially comprehensive as very few gaps in the newspaper records exist. Thus gaps in the prices are attributable to gaps in the sources rather than to any selection criteria. The manner in which the annual prices were calculated was as follows. In any given month the lowest and highest range of that commodity were taken to establish a monthly average. For each calendar year the monthly averages were then taken to form a yearly average.

^With regards to Tallow prices, in the 1770s two sorts of tallow are listed, Irish and Russian. In the 1790s the tallow is divided between that those used for soap and candles, and further between Irish and Russian varieties of each. Throughout the period the average yearly price for each separate type was ascertained, and then an overall yearly average was gleaned of all types. Thus in the 1770s the above average is of Irish and Russian tallow, while in the 1790s the average represents that of Irish candle, Irish soap, Russian candle, and Russian soap. While obscuring the trends in each type it was felt necessary to offer an average of all types, given that it is not known which type, if any, was favoured by shoemakers and tailors. Furthermore, the weighting evidence did not specify certain types, so this method gives a true average of all the tallow available for candles and soap.

Table 4:5 : Index of Prices (1), 1769-1799 (1791=100)

Year	Wheat*	Oats*	Barley*	Beef^	Mutton^^	Sugar**	Butter***
1769	100.68	78.00	63.86	*80.76*	*90.00*	*69.09*	*88.38*
1770	84.35	88.00	81.93	*80.76*	*90.00*	*69.09*	*94.39*
1771	98.64	96.00	96.39	*89.73*	*95.00*	*69.09*	*97.71*
1772	110.88	98.00	103.61	*89.73*	*95.00*	*69.09*	*103.66*
1773	111.56	96.00	103.61	*89.73*	*95.00*	*69.09*	*99.28*
1774	110.20	102.00	97.59	*86.74*	*100.00*	*69.09*	*82.37*
1775	100.68	96.00	91.57	*83.75*	*100.00*	*69.09*	*92.70*
1776	72.79	82.00	80.72	*89.73*	*100.00*	*69.09*	*109.30*
1777	88.44	90.00	69.88	*86.74*	*100.00*	*69.09*	*120.26*
1778	87.76	86.00	91.57	*89.73*	*100.00*	*69.09*	*112.12*
1779	*62.24*	*77.00*	*59.64*	*86.74*	*90.00*	*69.09*	*102.10*
1780	*89.12*	*85.00*	*59.64*	*83.75*	*90.00*	*69.09*	*82.99*
1781	*101.70*	*83.00*	*62.65*	*83.75*	*90.00*	*69.09*	*84.56*
1782	*117.00*	*122.00*	*115.06*	*89.73*	*95.00*	*69.09*	*87.69*
1783	*100.34*	*109.00*	*103.01*	*92.72*	*100.00*	*69.09*	*90.51*
1784	*87.07*	*102.00*	*66.87*	*98.70*	*97.50*	*69.09*	*87.07*
1785	89.80	106.00	*104.82*	*92.72*	*95.63*	*76.78*	*92.08*
1786	*72.45*	*107.00*	*77.11*	*98.70*	*98.13*	*76.78*	*89.57*
1787	*88.78*	*91.00*	*75.90*	*101.69*	*99.38*	*76.78*	*86.13*
1788	89.80	100.00	86.75	*101.69*	*100.63*	*76.78*	*75.48*
1789	106.12	98.00	89.16	*98.70*	*97.50*	70.63	75.16
1790	115.65	110.00	100.00	*101.69*	*100.00*	84.33	108.99
1791	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
1792	82.99	98.00	93.98	101.10	95.00	91.36	88.32
1793	89.80	112.00	102.41	98.31	100.00	97.50	94.93
1794	105.44	126.00	115.66	98.40	100.00	90.98	104.29
1795	153.74	142.00	138.55	105.58	105.00	121.69	107.36
1796	146.26	124.00	126.51	109.37	110.00	124.89	109.74
1797	119.73+	98.00++	98.19++	*143.57*	*140.00*	*117.46*	*110.55*
1798	134.69	116.00	115.66	119.64	110.00	123.99	110.12
1799	136.05	150.00	128.92	131.61	130.00	129.75	113.65

* Prices in italics are from Gloucester. They were in shillings per quarter (8 bushels= a quarter) and were divided by 8 to give a bushel figure commensurate with the Bristol prices for these grains. (G. E. Mingay (ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales: Volume VI, 1750-1850* (Cambridge, 1989), p. 982. Mingay's figures arose from the Gloucester press, rendering them especially compatible with Bristol prices.)
+ This price is from Exeter. (E. W. Gilboy, *Wages in Eighteenth Century England* (Cambridge, Mass., 1934, p. 290)
++ These prices are based on national averages. (Mitchell/Deane, 1962, p. 488)
^ Beef figures in italics are from deliveries made to St Thomas's Hospital, London, twice yearly at Lady Day and Michaelmas. The London figures were per stone (8lb), and to be commensurate with Bristol figures were multiplied by 15 to give a hundredweight figure of 120lb. (Mingay, *Agrarian History*, pp. 998-1000).
^^ Mutton figures are from the Lord Steward's Department. Given that they are in stones at 8lb per stone, and Bristol figures are per lb, then the London figure was divided by 8 to make them commensurate. (Lord Beveridge, *Prices and Wages in England, from the Twelfth to the Nineteenth Century: Volume1, Price Tables: Mercantile Era* (London, 1939; 1965 edition) p. 426)
** Sugar figures in italics are from Navy Victualling, and are for brown sugar. Although incomplete between 1771 and 1784 they are the best available source. And given in amounts of 12lb they have been multiplied by 10 to give a figure commensurate with Bristol ones, which are in hundredweights of 120lb. (Beveridge, *Prices and Wages*, p. 565)
*** Butter figures in italics are from Navy Victualling records in London, and were made commensurate with Bristol on the following terms. Bristol figures = Hundredweight; London figures = 12lb; Hundredweight = 120lb; thus (London) x 10 = Hundredweight figure. (Beveridge, *Prices and Wages*, p. 576)

Table 4:6 : Index of Prices (2), 1769-1799 (1791 = 100)

Year	Cheese*	Beer^	Tallow**	Coal^^	Clothes***	Rent^^^
1769	*79.17*	70.83	*99.05*	85.73	102.08	99.00
1770	*86.11*	75.00	*91.87*	92.49	102.08	99.00
1771	*93.06*	75.00	99.15	92.77	102.08	99.00
1772	*84.72*	77.08	106.05	87.32	102.08	99.00
1773	*73.15*	81.25	102.55	85.92	103.13	99.00
1774	*71.76*	83.33	92.91	88.08	103.13	99.00
1775	*77.78*	83.33	91.49	94.74	103.13	99.00
1776	*87.04*	83.33	88.47	97.18	103.13	99.00
1777	*100.00*	83.33	92.63	100.56	103.13	99.00
1778	*95.83*	83.33	93.57	99.91	104.17	99.00
1779	*79.17*	83.33	*100.95*	102.72	104.17	99.00
1780	*69.44*	83.33	*95.84*	101.88	104.17	99.00
1781	*73.15*	83.33	*90.74*	104.69	104.17	99.00
1782	*77.78*	95.83	*82.80*	95.49	104.17	99.00
1783	*91.67*	100.00	*82.80*	88.54	103.13	99.00
1784	*83.33*	100.00	*90.17*	94.55	103.13	99.00
1785	*84.72*	100.00	*90.17*	94.74	103.13	99.00
1786	*90.28*	100.00	*119.66*	92.96	103.13	99.00
1787	*93.06*	100.00	*127.03*	93.62	103.13	99.00
1788	*86.11*	100.00	*102.08*	92.21	100.00	100.00
1789	72.22	95.83	99.53	98.31	100.00	100.00
1790	92.96	100.00	105.39	99.06	100.00	100.00
1791	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
1792	113.70	104.17	106.81	103.85	100.00	100.00
1793	108.61	107.29	108.22	108.17	100.00	105.94
1794	111.02	104.17	104.82	116.15	100.00	105.94
1795	111.02	104.17	116.73	102.16	100.00	105.94
1796	104.44	104.17	134.59	100.75	100.00	105.94
1797	*130.56*	104.17	*109.17*	102.25	100.00	105.94
1798	100.56	104.17	120.98	120.28	106.25	115.84
1799	108.06	112.50	134.78	128.17	106.25	115.84

* Cheese figures in italics are from Greenwich Hospital, and were made commensurate with Bristol ones on the same basis as butter was converted above. Although the cheese was not cited as Gloucestershire cheese, as the Bristol figures were, these prices bore the closest resemblance to Bristol ones for the years in which both sources are comparable. (Beveridge, *Prices and Wages*, pp. 293-295)

^ Beer prices are taken from deliveries to Chelsea Hospital, and were in shillings per barrel. (Beveridge, *Prices and Wages*, p. 313)

** Tallow prices listed in italics were obtained from Navy Stores, the only source to list tallow prices for these years and in measures of hundredweight (cwt). (Beveridge, *Prices and Wages*, pp. 674-680)

^^ These are based on index figures for coal prices for England. They have merely been altered to a base year of 1791. (Daunton, *Progress and Poverty*, p. 581)

*** In the absence of a series of prices for clothes in Bristol, the above have been borrowed from an index compiled by Feinstein in his recent study. (Feinstein, 'Pessismism Perpetuated', p. 640)

^^^ In the absence of a series of rent figures, the above have been borrowed from an index compiled by Feinstein, whose figures for the late eighteenth century have been extrapolated backwards from the nineteenth century. (Feinstein, 'Pessimism Perpetuated', p. 640)

1791 Base Year Amounts (in pence) for Table 4:5 & 4:6.

Wheat = 73.5d (bushel)
Barley = 41.5d (Bushel)
Oats = 25d (bushel)
Beef = 501.5d (per Cwt)
Mutton = 5d (per lb)
Sugar = 781.5d (per Cwt)
Butter = 798.25d (per Cwt)

Cheese = 540d (per Cwt)
Beer = 144d (per barrel)
Tallow = 529d (per Cwt)
Coal = 106.5 (Index number)
Clothes = 96 (Index number)
Rent = 101 (Index number)

fluctuations in retail prices'.[116] Table 4:4 shows the Bristol prices that have survived in the following series, with the exception of 1797 in every case. Grain prices were found for 1769-1778, 1785, and 1788-1799, tallow, for 1771-1778 and 1789-1799, sugar, butter and cheese for 1789-1799, and meat for 1791-1799. Tables 4:5 and 4:6 provide a full list of all indexed prices, calculations and sources. Where gaps existed, they were filled by prices from elsewhere, such as Gloucester grain prices or London prices. Given the mobility of Bristol's artisans, seen in chapter two, this use of non-Bristol prices is justifiable. In any case, Bristol prices account for 40 per cent of the weightings provided for the period from 1769 to 1770, 47.69 per cent of those between 1771 and 1778 inclusive, 40 per cent for both 1785 and 1788, and 60.65 per cent for the years 1789 and 1790. They also account for 73.14 per cent of the weightings for the period between 1791 and 1799. Moreover, although 26.86 per cent of the weighed items had no Bristol record, it must be remembered that it is trends in price movements, rather than absolute prices, that concern this study. In this regard, all the calculations have taken 1791 as the base year, on the basis that Bristol price data was available for every item for this year, and because the year pre-dated the massive inflationary surge of the French Wars. The Bristol and non-Bristol prices were combined into price indexes on the basis of their weightings, in order to form a composite cost of living index. This is set out in table 4:7.

Table 4:7 reveals the following trends. Between 1769 and 1799 the cost of living in Bristol rose by 38.43 per cent, although between 1769 and 1778 the index only rose 0.30 per cent, despite some steep rises in the early 1770s. Between 1780 and 1789 the index rose by 10.32 per cent, a figure which slightly masks the inflation of the early 1780s. The index rose by 14.34 per cent between 1780 and 1782 alone. Between 1789 and 1799 a massive 30.36 per cent rise occurred, a result of the high inflation of the 1790s. Indeed 1792 was the only year during the 1790s not to figure among the ten highest, a year that was also the lowest year of the 1790s, in the index compiled by Lindert and Williamson.[117] By contrast 1782 represented the only year outside the 1790s to feature in the ten highest years. Not surprisingly, the two largest increases occurred during the 1790s, when 1795 prices increased by 19.84 per cent on those for 1794, and 1793 prices increased by 11.29 per cent on those for 1792. This draws into sharp focus the claim of a news editorial in June 1795 that high prices were 'within the knowledge of every individual' and explains why committees sold food to the 'necessitous at reduced prices'.[118] The two largest decreases occurred in the late 1770s, when 1779 prices fell by 12.53 per cent on those for 1778, and 1776 prices fell by 9.64 per cent on those for 1775. Prices therefore fluctuated in both directions until the 1790s, when steep increases began.

TABLE 4:7: COMPOSITE COST OF LIVING INDEX FOR BRISTOL, 1769-1799 (1791= 100)

Year	Index Number*	Yearly changes- +/-%
1769	92.00 (25)	-
1770	87.35 (29)	- 5.05%
1771	94.90 (17)	+ 8.64%
1772	99.90 (11)	+5.27%
1773	99.41 (12)	- 0.49%
1774	97.50 (14)	- 1.92%
1775	94.57 (18)	- 3.01%
1776	85.45 (30)	- 9.64%
1777	92.02 (24)	+ 7.69%
1778	92.28 (23)	+ 0.28%
1779	80.72 (31)	- 12.53%
1780	88.56 (27)	+ 9.71%
1781	93.15 (20)	+ 5.18%
1782	101.26 (9)	+8.71%
1783	95.74 (15)	- 5.45%
1784	90.25 (26)	- 5.73%
1785	92.77 (22)	+ 2.79%
1786	88.33 (28)	- 4.79%
1787	94.91 (16)	+ 7.45%
1788	93.05 (21)	- 1.96%
1789	97.70 (13)	+ 5.00%
1790	105.58 (6)	+ 8.07%
1791	100.00 (10)	- 5.29%
1792	93.90 (19)	- 6.10%
1793	104.50 (8)	+ 11.29%
1794	104.87 (7)	+0.35%
1795	125.68 (2)	+ 19.84%
1796	124.35 (3)	- 1.06%
1797	116.47 (5)	- 6.34%
1798	121.68 (4)	+ 4.47%
1799	127.36 (1)	+ 4.67%

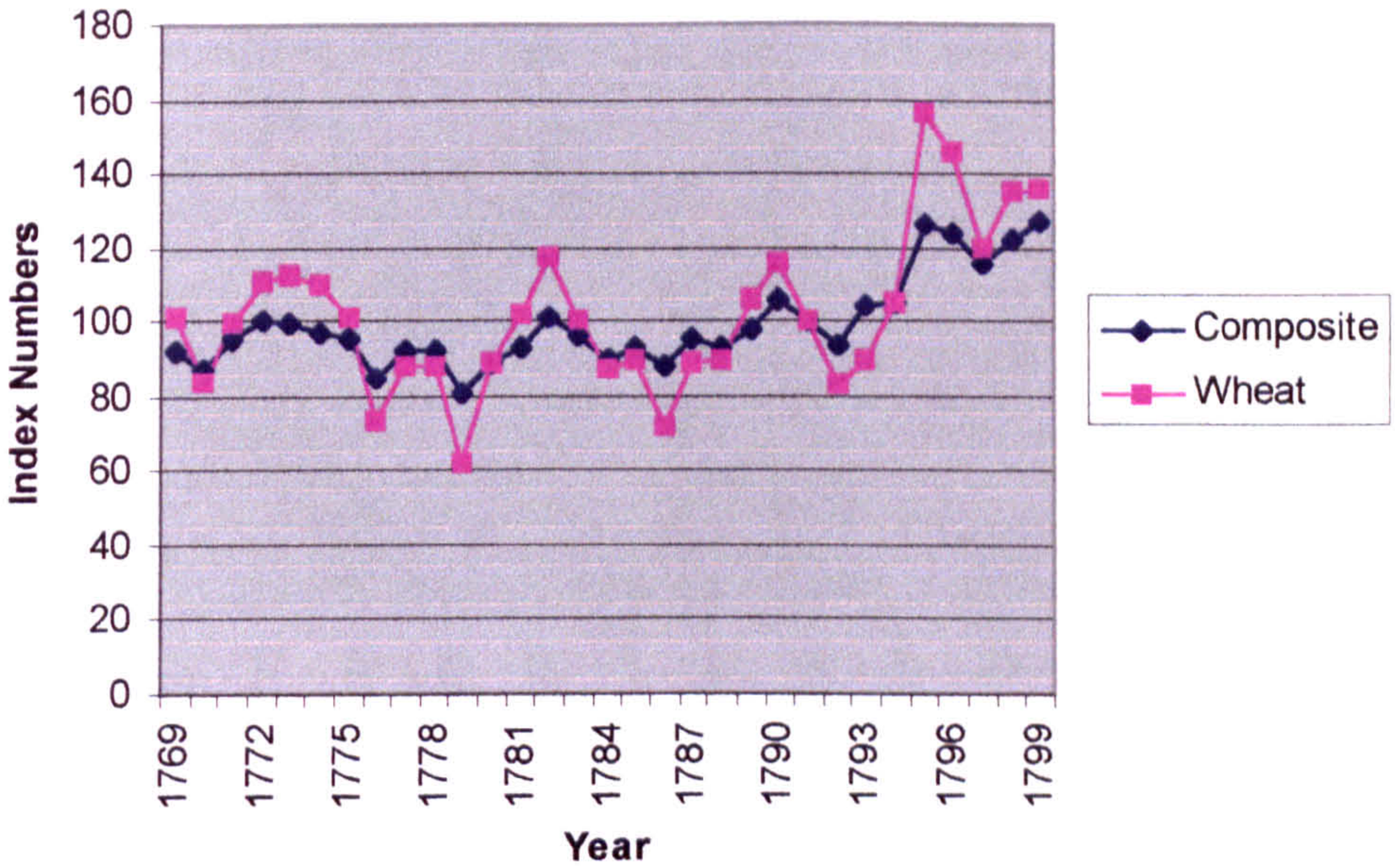
Source: Price Index Tables 4:5 and 4:6.

* The figure in brackets ranks the price from highest to lowest throughout the thirty-one years.

Looking at year-on-year movements, in fourteen years prices decreased from the previous year, while in sixteen years the price increased over that of the preceding year. Given the overall large increase, this picture illustrates the extent to which prices fluctuated wildly in the latter eighteenth century. The extent to which these fluctuations were caused by variations in the price of wheat, and therefore bread, are demonstrated in graphs 1 and 2. Graph 1 shows, by comparison to the composite index as a whole, wheat prices increased and dropped more dramatically. Thus, in the early to mid-1770s wheat peaked at a higher level than the index, and then fell to lower levels in the late 1770s and late 1780s. Wheat prices again peaked at much higher levels than the index in the mid to late 1790s. Fluctuations in the price of wheat, considering that its weighting as the main staple food, suggests that this item substantially influenced the overall trends of the composite index. This is more clearly illustrated in graph 2 which compares the trends for wheat, butter, cheese, beef, and mutton. Wheat prices clearly fluctuated more wildly than those for any other item, reaching both the lowest point of any item in 1779, and the highest point of any

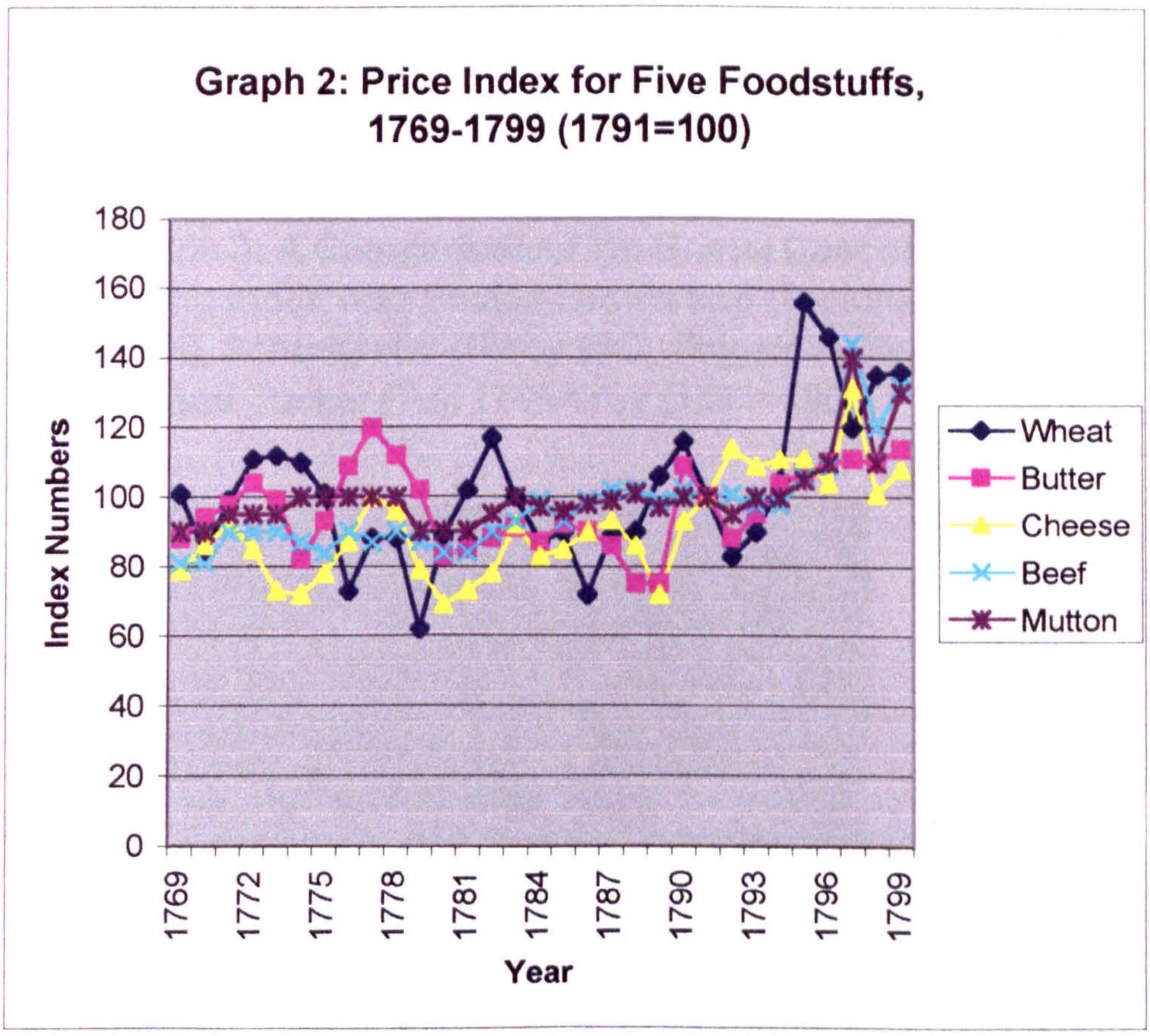
item in the mid-1790s. The latter figure particularly draws into focus calls in the local press at the time to save on bread, by using coarser measures of grain or other commodities. The fact that wheat was not a focus of concern in the local press more often testifies to the extent to which the civic elite managed prices. Nevertheless, even despite such efforts, in 1795, the highest year for wheat prices, one editorial thought bread to be at its highest price

Graph 1: A Comparison of the Composite Index and Wheat Index, 1769-1799 (1791=100)



'when the value of money was infinitely greater'.[119] Butter was also frequently mentioned, and graph 2 illustrates that, after wheat, the price of this item also fluctuated a great deal. Thus, 1777 and 1778 saw the highest prices for butter prior to the 1790s, and a letter published in a Bristol newspaper in July 1778 spoke of butter being at a price 'scarce known here at this time of the year'.[120] This was also a period of high prices in London suggesting a correlation between Bristol and London trends. The great concerns expressed in Bristol newspapers during the 1790s about butter reinforces the importance of butter to the diet of the whole community. However, the clamour over prices could at times be concerned with marketing practices that attempted to further enhance the price by, for example, selling at false weights. In 1783, for example, a medium year for prices, one writer blamed the practices of 'extortion and forestalling' among traders for high meat and butter prices, arguing that prices charged during times of scarcity were not lowered afterwards.[121] Yet graph 2 suggests that, in 1783, butter prices were not high for the period. This evidence reinforces the perception that butter was an extremely important component of the everyday diet, especially compared to items like cheese, which despite higher price

increases in the early 1790s, caused little concern in the press. By contrast, concern over meat prices peaked alarmingly in 1797 and 1799, both years when beef and mutton increased dramatically. Reaction to high prices could occur extremely quickly and, at times

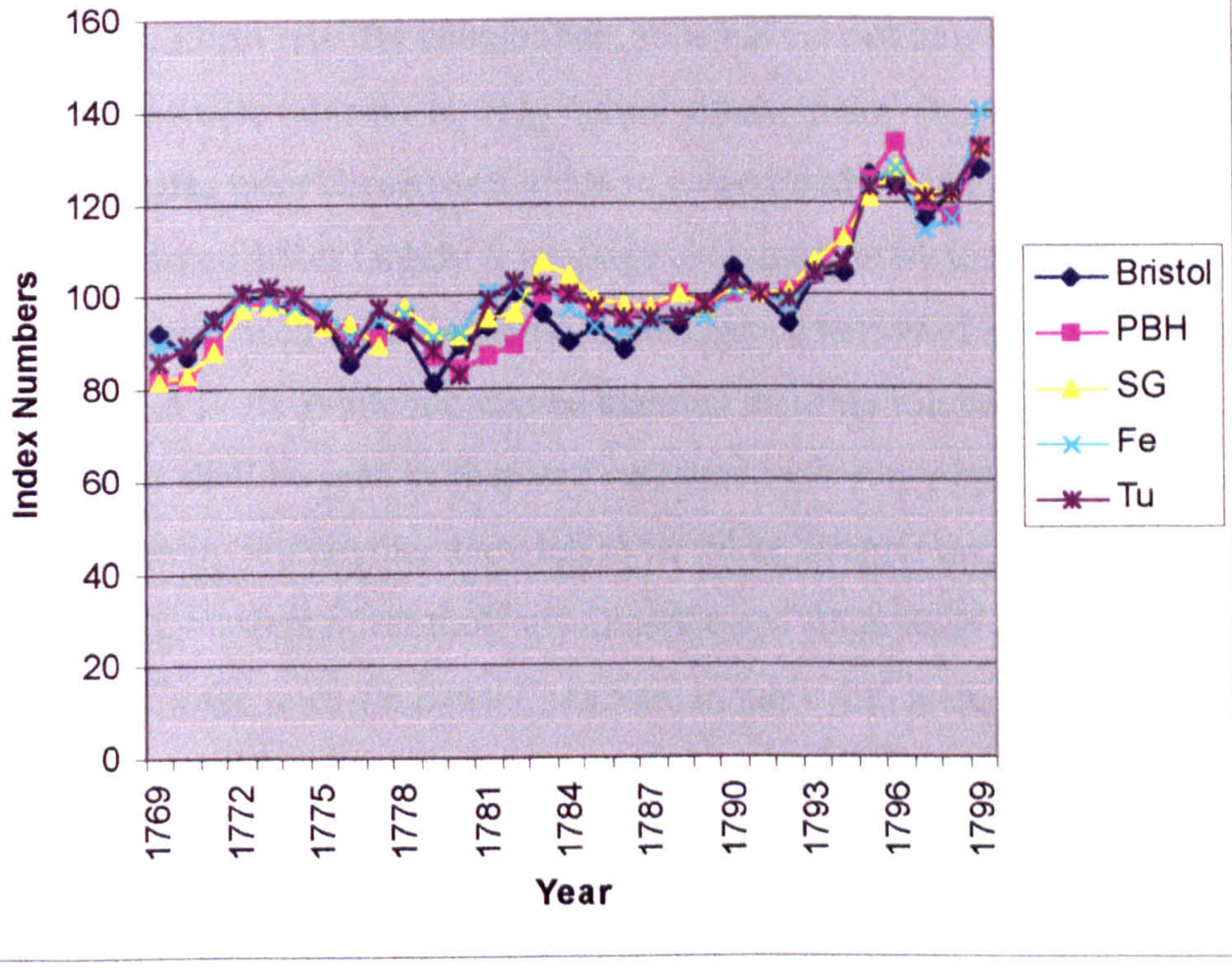


apparently without explanation. Thus, riots over meat prices in June 1795, occurred despite the fact, as graph 2 illustrates, that the yearly average was not especially high. However, in June 1795, the average monthly price of beef was 11.5 per cent higher than in any other month in that year, and this perhaps explains why a crowd burst into the butcher's shop of Samuel Kindon in Bristol and took meat at prices 'they thought fit to offer'.[122]

Having constructed an index that utilises as many local prices as possible, it is useful to compare the Composite Index for Bristol with other, more generalised, studies. Only four indexes permit comparison for the period between 1769 and 1799, largely because it is the period between 1790 and 1850 that 'has attracted particular attention'.[123] These four are the indexes provided by Phelps Brown and Hopkins (PBH), Schumpeter and Gilboy (SG), Tucker (T), and Charles Feinstein, and the results of this comparison are displayed in graph 3.[124] The first thing to note is the remarkable level of congruity between the indexes. This vindicates the choice of weights used and prices collected. This correlation is even closer during the 1770s and especially the 1790s when Bristol prices dominated the index. Given

that the other four indexes were largely formed from southern and London prices, this suggests that trends in Bristol prices largely mirrored those of London and southern England more generally.[125] However, differences do emerge over time. The Bristol Index accelerated less drastically than some indexes. From 1769 to 1799 the S-G index increased by 61 per cent, the PBH index by 60 per cent, the Tucker Index rose by 52 per cent, and the Feinstein Index by 57.16 per cent. Yet, during this same period, the Bristol Index rose

Graph 3: A Comparison of the Bristol Cost of Living Index with Phelps-Brown and Hopkins (PBH), Schumpeter-Gilboy (SG), Feinstein (Fe), and Tucker (Tu), 1769-1799 (1791=100)



by just 38 per cent. As a result, while the Bristol Index started in 1769 with prices that were 10 per cent higher than many of the others, it finished in 1799 with prices slightly lower than all the others.[126] These figures merely mask the overall conformity of all five indexes, as illustrated in graph 3. Thus, between 1780 and 1796 the S-G Index rose by 40 per cent while the Bristol Index increased by 40.41 per cent; an extremely close correlation.[127]

A similar story pertains to indexes that covered only part of the period. Thus, the index compiled by Lindert and Williamson, based on 'southern urban expenditure weights', revealed an increase of 31 per cent between 1781 and 1799 while the Bristol index rose by 36 per cent during this time.[128] Again, this suggests that Bristol trends mirrored those in the capital. Feinstein therefore justified his use of a 'London series' on the basis that they

'accurately reflect national movements in prices'.[129] However, the possibility that the Bristol index has understated the increase in the cost of living is raised by the Gayer-Rostow-Schwartz (GRS) index, which began in 1790. The latter showed an increase of 39.53 per cent between 1790 and 1799, while that for Bristol increased by only 20.63 per cent in the corresponding period.[130]

Wages and Real Wages

While most previous studies of real wages concentrate either on national averages, London workers, or on the building trades, this study offers a new perspective both in terms of geographical sample and in the groups of workers under survey. Of the two Bristol trades studied here the best evidence existed for the tailors. They were paid weekly and seemingly at a uniform rate. By comparison, shoemakers not only received piece rates, but were also paid separate rates for making ladies' shoes, mens' shoes, or boots. As a result, tailors' weekly rates were chosen as a guide to wage trends in late eighteenth-century Bristol. The evidence arises largely from wage claims made by journeymen in newspapers, and the wage figures used are consistently stated over a period of twenty-four years between 1773 and 1796. While it could be claimed that this source of information is unduly biased, as shall be seen in chapter 5, masters took every opportunity to denounce information given by journeymen they felt to be false. Despite this willingness to denounce false information, masters never took any exception to statements of existing rates. This suggests that the wage rates for Bristol's tailors, in table 4:8, were largely accurate.

The available data shows that pay in the tailoring trade was seasonally split between summer and winter. This situation was far from unusual in this period. Adam Smith, for example, remarked that it was common for there to be a distinction between 'summer and winter wages', and that 'summer wages are always highest'.[131] Exactly how this split took

Table 4:8 : Wages of Bristol Journeymen Tailors, 1773-1796

Year	Wage	Method	Source	Reference*
1773	12s	Weekly (Summer)	Journeymen	FFBJ 10/4/1773
1773	2s	Daily (Summer)	Journeymen	BJ 29/5/1773
1777	12s	Weekly (Winter)	Journeymen	FFBJ 11/10/1777
1777	14s	Weekly (Summer)	Journeymen	FFBJ 11/10/1777
1781	14s	Weekly (Summer)	Journeymen	SFBJ 31/3/1781
1790	14s	Weekly (Summer)	Masters	FFBJ 17/4/1790
1790	2s 4d	Daily (Summer)	Journeymen	BMBJ 17/4/1790
1796	14s	Weekly (Summer)	Journeymen	FFBJ 26/3/1796
1796	-	Piece rates introduced	Masters	Bgaz 24/3/1796

* For full references see the text.

effect was made clear when the journeymen stated in early October 1777 that they had been on summer pay rates for 'six Months past'.[132] This dates back to early April, suggesting that summer rates pertained to the period between April and October, and winter ones to the period between October and April. Nearly all the rates found were summer ones, however, statements for both summer and winter rates in 1777 reveal a two-shilling differential in favour of summer. In 1773 and 1790 statements that included both a daily and weekly rate suggests that Bristol's tailors normally laboured six days in the week. Thus, in the former year six days working at two shillings per day yielded a weekly sum of twelve shillings, while in 1790 a six-day week at two shillings and four-pence per day gave fourteen shillings.

This study has constructed trends on the basis of data regarding tailors' weekly summer rates. This material has been used in order to assess whether real wages fell or rose in this period. Reliance on summer rates, in the absence of winter ones, is not problematic both because indexes are designed to illustrate trends rather than absolute amounts, and due to the fact that there is no reason to believe that the differential between summer and winter rates changed. While male full-time earnings give a rather false impression of actual family income, they offer the most solid method of ascertaining the movement in *trends* over time. It matters little whether daily or weekly rates are aggregated to an annual income, or even whether time is then deducted for lost weeks, since such variables do not substantially affect the overall trend.[133]

Given that the wages represented in table 4:8 undoubtedly represented the most *optimistic* account of tailors' earnings in Bristol, the figures are not encouraging. The only increase occurred in 1777 when summer weekly rates represented a two-shilling increase on the 12 shillings which tailors stated they earned in 1773. Wages were seemingly stagnant thereafter between 1777 and 1796. Thus, further statements in 1781, 1790, and 1796 noted that summer rates were still 14 shillings per week. Evidence about piece-rates in the shoemaking trade also suggests that wages were not increasing in line with the cost of living. Thus, in May 1777 the advertised piece rates for men's shoes were stated at one shilling and six pence, equating to 9 shillings per week, assuming a standard production of one item per day over a six-day working week.[134] Likewise, James Lackington, recalling his time in Bristol during the 1770s making men's shoes, stated that 'I could not get more than nine shillings a week'.[135] By March 1796, however, this rate had increased to one shilling and ten pence, representing a weekly wage of 11 shillings per week.[136] Despite this

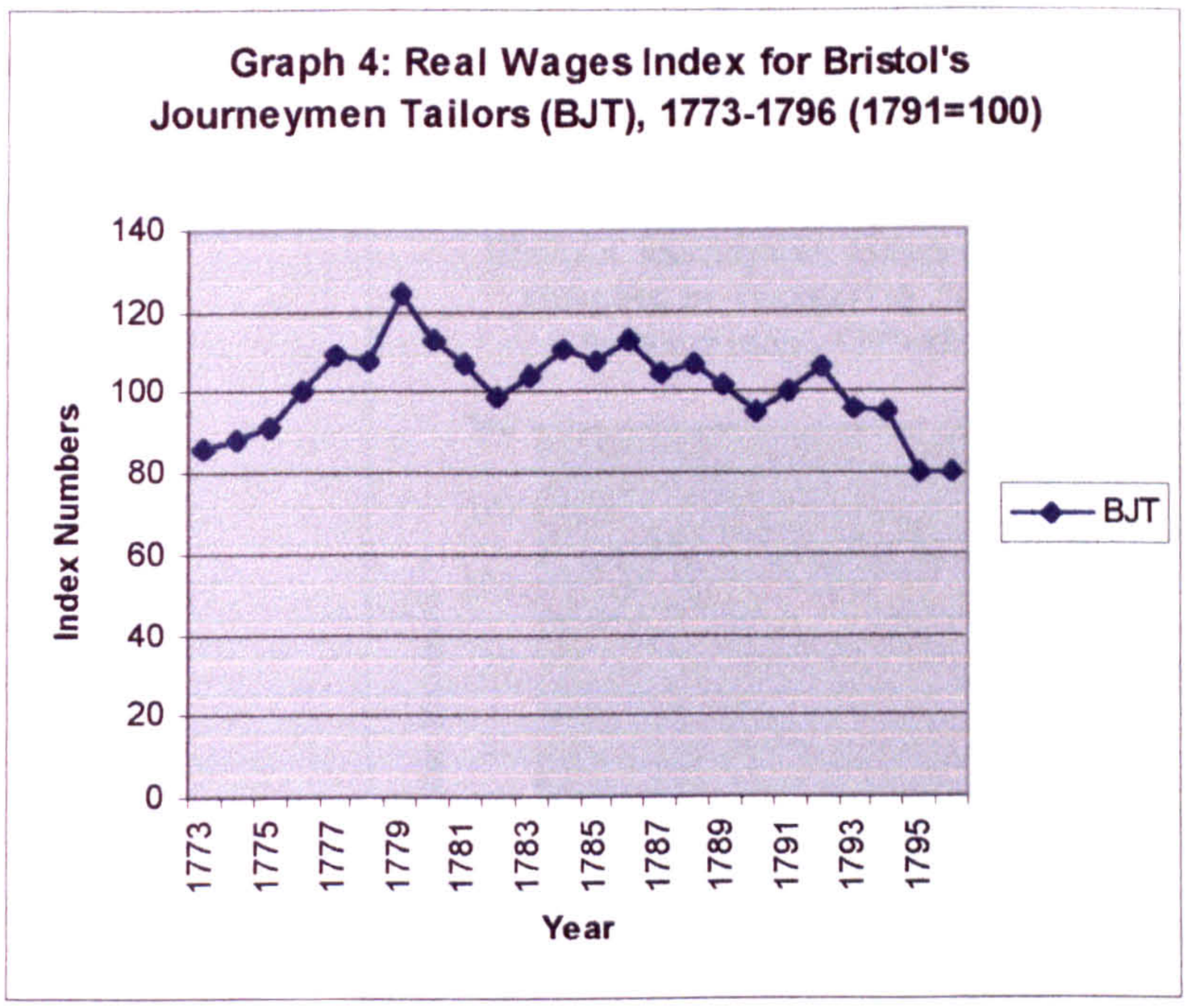
increase, wage levels did not keep pace with the cost of living. Rather, wages rose by 22 per cent between 1777 and 1796, while the cost of living rose by 35 per cent.

To ascertain the level of real wages between 1773 and 1796, the only period in which wage data was available, it was assumed that wages in the tailoring trade remained unchanged between the years in which evidence was found. This allowed a real wage index to be created for the period between 1773 and 1796. This can be seen in table 4:9 and graph 4. While overall price movements largely dictated real wage movements, the higher wage level in 1777 showed its value in terms of the highest real wages of the whole period, aided by lower prices. Thus, in 1777, the increase not only kept pace with a 7.69 per cent year-on-year increase in the cost-of-living, but added 8.35 per cent to the value of real wages. While real wages fell between 1773 and 1796l by only 6.73%, the picture is distorted by the fact that 1773 and 1796 represented the third and second lowest years respectively for the entire twenty-four year period. The trend is better represented in graph 4. This shows that real wages were low in the very early 1770s, almost as low as the mid-1790s, before rising steadily throughout the decade until the peak of 1779, when the lowest price year gave the highest year for real wages. In the very early 1780s there was a sharp fall,

Table 4:9 : Real Wages of Bristol Journeymen Tailors, 1773-1796

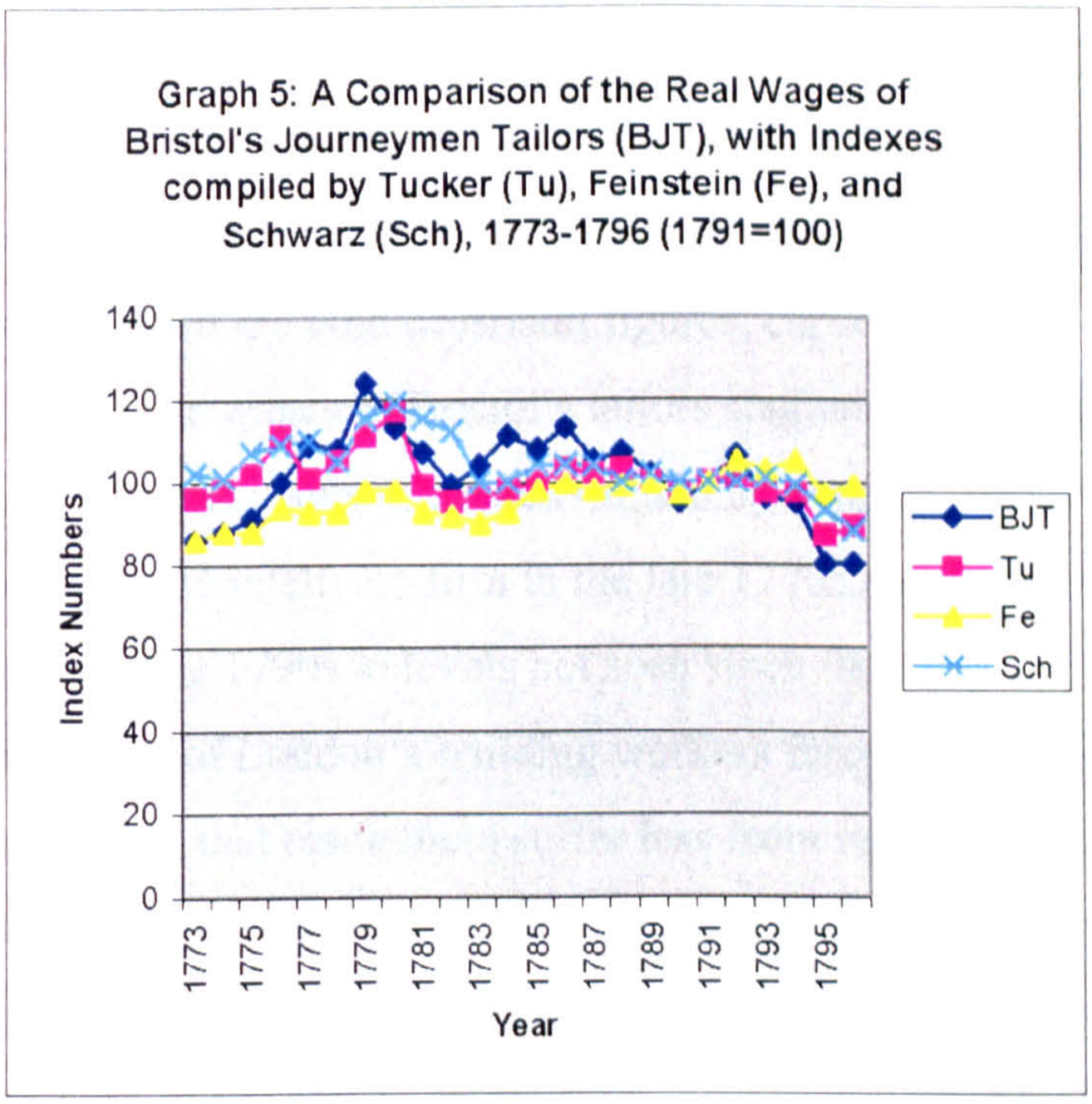
Year	Money Wages (1791=100)	Cost of living (1791=100)	Real Wages* (1791=100)
1773	85.71	99.41	86.22 (22)
1774	85.71	97.50	87.91 (21)
1775	85.71	94.57	90.63 (20)
1776	85.71	85.45	100.30 (14)
1777	100	92.02	108.67 (5)
1778	100	92.28	108.37 (6)
1779	100	80.72	123.89 (1)
1780	100	88.56	112.92 (3)
1781	100	93.15	107.35 (9)
1782	100	101.26	98.76 (16)
1783	100	95.74	104.45 (12)
1784	100	90.25	110.80 (4)
1785	100	92.77	107.79 (7)
1786	100	88.33	113.21 (2)
1787	100	94.91	105.36 (11)
1788	100	93.05	107.47 (8)
1789	100	97.70	102.35 (13)
1790	100	105.58	94.71 (19)
1791	100	100	100 (15)
1792	100	93.90	106.50 (10)
1793	100	104.50	95.69 (17)
1794	100	104.87	95.36 (18)
1795	100	125.68	79.57 (24)
1796	100	124.35	80.42 (23)

* The figure in brackets denotes the ranking of real wages, starting with the highest.



followed by a steadiness in the mid-1780s, a slight fall in the late 1780s, a slight upturn in the early 1790s, and then a drastic downturn in the mid-1790s. Most tellingly 1795 and 1796 represented the two lowest years for real-wages in the entire period. Thus, real wages fell by 16.56 per cent between 1794 and 1795 alone.

Comparisons were made with other studies of real wages. Three other studies exist which make it possible to compare the period of 1773-1796. These are the studies by Tucker and Schwarz, both of whom used the earnings of London building workers, and that by Feinstein, who used general averages.[137] The results are shown in graph 5. This shows that the tailors' higher pay in 1777 gave them a level of real wages favourable to other workers in the late 1770s and 1780s. They were also on a par with other groups in the late 1780s and early 1790s, yet their wages dipped more alarmingly than others in the mid-1790s. Given the congruity between the various cost-of-living indices, this change must have been the result of variations in wage trends. Tucker's wage index did not rise at all until 1790, although subsequent rises in the 1790s compared to the stagnation in Bristol meant that the city's tailors fell further behind.[138] Likewise, the series compiled by Schwarz for the wages of London bricklayers did not rise until 1793, with the result that the fall in real wages in was less severe than that experienced by Bristol's tailors.[139] The index compiled by Feinstein shows the limits of a long-term study of 'all manual workers' between 1770 and 1880 and its inability to reveal short-term fluctuations. The graph shows a benign steadiness despite the short fluctuations revealed by the other indexes.[140] Thus, a shorter time period, a specific location, and specific wage rates from one group of workers



provide greater accuracy than do general averages of all workers. On this basis, one could take issue with Feinstein's claim that 'earnings kept roughly in step with the cost of living'.[141] According to Feinstein's index, wages increased by 46.84 per cent between 1773 and 1796, yet this was far larger than any wage rise experienced by Bristol's tailors.[142] By contrast, Schwarz describes an 'enormous fall in real wage rates during the second half of the eighteenth century'. He argues that 'over three-quarters of this fall' occurred 'before 1790'.[143] According to the data compiled by Neale, which started in 1780, real wages in Bath fell by 16 per cent between 1780 and 1796, even though average earnings had increased by 18 per cent.[144] Overall, fluctuating of real wages indicate that Bristol's tailors, and also probably the city's shoemakers, lived during a period when it was uncertain how far earnings would cover the cost of necessities from year to year.

Conclusion

This chapter reveals that a group of urban journeymen with families to support, such as Bristol's journeymen tailors and shoemakers, would have endured similar levels of poverty to rural labourers in what was an era of high prices. A major part of the artisan's income would have been spent on his and his family's diet, while a massive proportion of this was spent on bread. Evidence from newspapers, together with that from artisan memoirs, strongly matched the DE sample in terms of placing foods in order of priority. Income was therefore mainly expended on necessities such as bread, meat, butter, sugar, and caffeine

drinks in that order. Non-food essentials such as rent, coal, and candles assumed a higher share in urban Bristol than they did in rural areas. Aside from rent and coal, all these items fluctuated in cost before rising dramatically in the 1790s. A strong correlation with other cost of living studies indicates that Bristol shared a similar fate with the rest of southern England, and especially with London. This supports the weighting methods of the study, and the choice of prices to fill the void of Bristol figures, especially in the 1780s. Aside from an increase in 1777, the wages of Bristol's tailors stagnated throughout the rest of the period, with the result that real wages were determined by capricious fluctuations in food prices. Thus, real wages were relatively firm in the late 1770s and for most of the 1780s, but dropped drastically in the 1790s to levels not seen since the early 1770s. By comparison, the real wages of London's building workers fared well, until the 1790s when pay increases were received that made them suffer less from inflation than was the case for Bristol's tailors. Given that piece-rates paid to Bristol's shoemakers were also stagnant between 1769 and 1799 the living standards of both the city's tailors and shoemakers fluctuated wildly for most of the period before falling drastically in the 1790s. Both groups therefore shared the same fate as many workers across England at this juncture.

ENDNOTES

[1] See table 4:1 for a full reference. The vast majority come from the late 1780s.
[2] R. S. Neale, 'The Standard of Living, 1780-1844: a Regional and Class Study', *Economic History Review*, 19, 1966, p. 597.
[3] D. Davies, *The Case of Labourers in Husbandry Stated and Considered: with an Appendix containing a collection of accounts showing the earnings and expenses of labouring families in different parts of the kingdom* (Bath, 1795; 1977 Reprint), pp. 21-22.
[4] *Bonner and Middleton's Bristol Journal* (hereafter BMBJ), 24/5/1777; *Bristol Journal* (hereafter BJ), 29/5/1773.
[5] *Bristol Gazette* (hereafter Bgaz), 14/9/1797; *Sarah Farley's Bristol Journal* (hereafter SFBJ), 23/3/1799.
[6] J. Lackington, *Memoirs of the First Forty-Five Years of the Life of James Lackington, the present Bookseller in Chiswell-street, Moorfields, London; Written by Himself* (London, 1792) p. 63, 61; J. Brown, *Sixty Years' Gleanings from Life's Harvest* (Cambridge, 1858), p. 2.
[7] Davies, *Labourers in Husbandry*, p. 14.; F. M. Eden, *The State of the Poor: or An History of the Labouring Classes in England, from the Conquest to the Present Period* (London, 1797; 1994 Reprint), p. 184.
[8] Bgaz 24/3/1796; *Felix Farley's Bristol Journal* (hereafter FFBJ), 26/3/1796. The shoemaker wage is based on piece rates of 1s 11d per shoe, working a 6-day week and producing a shoe per day, a full level of production.
[9] C. Shammas, *The Pre-industrial Consumer in England and America* (Oxford, 1990), p. 129. Between 1721 and 1760 food claimed 53% of an unskilled labourer's wage in the South-west, while a South-west master carpenter between 1681 and 1780 was awarded 45.8% of his wage for food. Though the figures are low compared to the DE sample in Table 4:1, it must be remembered that they make no mention of family size and they mostly predate the high inflation of the later 1700s. See Shammas, p. 128. Wage assessments by Bristol's magistrates had died out by the latter eighteenth century, rendering them obsolete for the purposes of this study.
[10] P. Hudson, *History by Numbers: An introduction to quantitative approaches* (London, 2000), p. 116. All methods used to collate indexes were gleaned from chapter 5 of her book, 'Time-series and indices', pp. 109-136.
[11] Shammas, *Pre-industrial Consumer*, p. 123.
[12] E. H. Phelps Brown and S. V. Hopkins, 'Seven Centuries of the Prices of Consumables, compared with Builders' Wage-Rates' in E. M. Carus-Wilson (ed.), *Essays in Economic History: Volume Two* (London, 1962), p. 180.; Shammas, *Pre-industrial Consumer*, p. 124; C. H. Feinstein, 'Pessimism Perpetuated: Real Wages and the Standard of Living in Britain during and after the Industrial Revolution', *The Journal of Economic History*, 3, 58, 1998, p. 634. Using DE samples PBH awarded 81% to food in this period, Shammas allowed 73%, while Feinstein awarded 69%.
[13] Davies, *Labourers in Husbandry*, p. 21.
[14] C. Petersen, *Bread and the British Economy, c1770-1870* (Aldershot, 1995), p. 4. Bread was far from a staple food for English workers alone. In eighteenth-century France for example it was considered that 'an artisan normally spent half his wage on bread'. See, G. A. Williams, *Artisans and Sans-Culottes: Popular Movements in France and Britain during the French Revolution* (London, 1968; 2nd Edition, 1989), p. 23; W. H. Sewell, 'The Sans-Culotte Rhetoric of Subsistence' in K. M. Baker (ed.), *The French Revolution and the Creation of Modern Political Culture: Volume Four, The Terror* (Oxford, 1994), p. 261.
[15] S. Johnson, *A Dictionary of the English Language: Two Volumes* (London, 1755; 1983 reprint); D. Defoe, *Moll Flanders* (1722; Penguin, 1994 reprint), p. 14.
[16] E. P. Thompson, 'The Moral Economy of the English Crowd in the Eighteenth Century', *Past and Present*, 50, 1971; reprinted in his *Customs in Common* (Penguin, 1991), p. 189.
[17] Davies, *Labourers in Husbandry*, p. 33, 31, 49.
[18] Eden, *The State of the Poor*, p. 435; Johnson, *A Dictionary*.
[19] Thompson, 'Moral Economy', p. 190; Petersen, *Bread*, p. 4; R. N. Salaman, *The History and Social Influence of the Potato* (Cambridge, 1949; 1985 reprint), p. 480.
[20] Davies, *Labourers in Husbandry*, p. 185; Petersen, *Bread*, p. 19.
[21] Shammas, *Pre-industrial Consumer*, p. 126.
[22] Davies, *Labourers in Husbandry*, p. 34.
[23] Eden, *The State of the Poor*, p. 267.
[24] Brown, *Sixty Years' Gleanings*, p. 26.
[25] Thompson, 'Moral Economy', p. 206.
[26] Thompson, 'Moral Economy', p. 193; Williams, *Artisans and Sans-Culottes*, p. 261.
[27] Thompson, 'Moral Economy', p. 208.
[28] S. Poole, 'Scarcity and the Civic Tradition: Market Management in Bristol, 1709-1815' in A. Randall and A. Charlesworth (eds), *Markets, Market Culture and Popular Protest in Eighteenth-Century Britain and Ireland* (Liverpool, 1996), p. 110.

[29] *Ibid*, p. 97.
[30] Bgaz 26/1/1775, 10/8/1775. This no doubt supplemented the usual supply of corn that arrived from 'the West Country, Evesham, Hereford, Worcester and Monmouth'. See Poole, 'Scarcity and the Civic Tradition', p. 94.
[31] FFBJ 18/7/1795.
[32] FFBJ 10/2/1776; SFBJ 10/1/1789.
[33] FFBJ 18/7/1795; SFBJ 18/7/1795; FFBJ 12/10/1799. The saving lay in the fact that superior loaves used only the 'finest flour', while standard loaves used 'the whole produce of the wheat' and household loaves used the 'coarser parts of the flour'. See Bgaz 23/7/1795.
[34] Bgaz 20/8/1795.
[35] Salaman, *History and Social Influence of the Potato*, p. 456, 460.
[36] *Ibid*., p. 503.
[37] Bgaz 3/12/1772.
[38] Bgaz 27/4/1775.
[39] FFBJ 24/2/1776; Bgaz 12/2/1795; FFBJ 2/4/1796.
[40] Bgaz 4/8/1796; FFBJ 22/2/1800.
[41] Salaman, *History and Social Influence of the Potato*, p. 460; Eden, *The State of the Poor*, p. 137.
[42] Davies, *Labourers in Husbandry*, p. 35.
[43] Salaman, *History and Social Influence of the Potato*, p. 478. The comment arose from Sir Archibald Grant in 1756.
[44] C. Jones and R. Spang, 'Sans-culottes, sans café, sans tabac: shifting realms of necessity and luxury in eighteenth-century France' in M. Berg and H. Clifford (eds), *Consumers and luxury: Consumer Culture in Europe, 1650-1850* (Manchester, 1999), p. 50.
[45] Salaman, *History and Social Influence of the Potato*, pp. 505-506.
[46] BMBJ 14/6/1777.
[47] Davies, *Labourers in Husbandry* pp. 31-32.
[48] *Ibid*., p. 49.
[49] *Ibid*., p. 161, 19.
[50] Eden, *The State of the Poor*, p. 280, 16.
[51] Poole, 'Scarcity and the Civic Tradition', p. 100.
[52] Bgaz 13/2/1772.
[53] Bgaz 11/8/1796.
[54] FFBJ 10/2/1776; SFBJ 10/1/1789; Bgaz 12/2/1795.
[55] Bgaz 4/6/1795; *Bristol Mercury* (hereafter Bmerc), 15/6/1795.
[56] Poole, 'Scarcity and the Civic Tradition', p. 101.
[57] Brown, *Sixty Years Gleanings*, pp. 28-29, 47-48.
[58] W. E. Winks, *Lives of Illustrious Shoemakers* (London, 1883), p. 29.
[59] *Ibid*., p. 164.
[60] FFBJ 6/2/1796.
[61] This is no less true if the lack of accuracy arises from the structure of questioning, rather than in the answers, as it would nevertheless still show that eighteenth-century people grouped these commodities together.
[62] According to Shammas the price of sugar fell by half in the seventeenth century and then by 'another third' between 1700 and 1750, while sugar imports for 'home consumption' rose from 8.23lb per capita in 1710-19 to 24.16lb in 1790-9. Shammas, *Pre-industrial Consumer*, pp. 81-82.
[63] Shammas, *Pre-industrial Consumer*, pp. 81-82. Sugar had also become a commodity that was mass consumed in France during the same period, as Jones and Spang have demonstrated that *café au lait* (sugar/coffee) had become 'the daily breakfast of the urban worker' before 1789. See, Jones and Spang, 'shifting realms of necessity and luxury', p. 40.
[64] Jones and Spang, 'shifting realms of necessity and luxury', p. 53.
[65] Shammas, *Pre-industrial Consumer*, p. 111.
[66] R. Southey, *Letters from England* (London, 1807; 1951 edition edited with introduction by J. Simmons), p. 87. Thus the 'tea duty' rose from 12 ½ % between 1784-1795 to 50% between 1795-1801.
[67] Davies, *Labourers in Husbandry*, p. 38.
[68] Eden, *State of the Poor*, p. 229, 280.
[69] Brown, *Sixty Years Gleanings*, pp. 23-24, 28-29; Winks, *Lives of Illustrious Shoemakers*, p. 27.
[70] Winks, *Lives of Illustrious Shoemakers*, p. 29.
[71] Davies, *Labourers in Husbandry*, p. 32.
[72] FFBJ 18/7/1778.
[73] SFBJ 26/7/1783.
[74] SFBJ 1/5/1790; FFBJ 18/4/1795; Bgaz 21/1/1796.
[75] Bgaz 11/5/1797.
[76] SFBJ 21/12/1799.
[77] Davies, *Labourers in Husbandry*, p. 149, 137, 141.

[78] Eden, *The State of the Poor*, p. 229, 280.
[79] Brown, *Sixty Years Gleanings*, pp. 23-24, 228-229.
[80] Eden, *The State of the Poor*, p. 12, 147, 185, 210, 224, 273, 537.
[81] Davies, *Labourers in Husbandry*, pp. 37-38.
[82] Eden, *The State of the Poor*, p. 148, 229.
[83] Southey, *Letters from England*, p. 88. John Brown's references to beer are really too numerous to note.
[84] *Annual Register*, 1800, Vol. 42, p. 319.
[85] Lackington, *Memoirs*, p. 206.
[86] BJ 20/7/1771.
[87] SFBJ 24/4/1790.
[88] L. D. Schwarz, *London in the age of industrialisation: Entrepreneurs, labour force and living conditions, 1700-1850* (Cambridge, 1992), p. 172.
[89] Phelps Brown and Hopkins, 'Seven Centuries of the Prices of Consumables', p. 180.
[90] M. D. George, *London Life in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1925), p. 167. Thus the saddlers requested a weekly wage of 20s 6 ½d, expecting to spend 4s 11s on bread, equivalent to 24%.
[91] While no Bristol prices survive for 1779, London wheat prices per bushel were only two-and-a-quarter pence more expensive than those at Gloucester on average. There is little reason to doubt that Bristol prices were at a similar level. See C. W. J. Granger and C. M. Elliott, 'A Fresh Look at Wheat Prices and Markets in the Eighteenth Century', *Economic History Review*, 20, 1967, p. 264. (for London); E. W. Gilboy, *Wages in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge, Mass., 1934) pp. 289-90 (for Gloucester).
[92] FFBJ 11/10/1777.
[93] BMBJ 10/5/1777.
[94] Lackington, *Memoirs*, p. 197.
[95] Neale, 'a Regional and Class Study, p. 599.
[96] Neale, 'a Regional and Class Study', p. 599; Schwarz, *London in the age of industrialisation*, p. 172.
[97] Neale, 'a Regional and Class Study', p. 599; Phelps Brown and Hopkins, 'Seven Centuries of the Prices of Consumables', p. 180.
[98] George, *London Life*, p. 167.
[99] *Ibid.*
[100] J. Burnett, *A History of the Cost of Living* (London, 1969; 1993 reprint), p. 186.
[101] P. H. Lindert and J. G. Williamson, 'English Workers' Living Standards during the Industrial Revolution: A New Look', *Economic History Review*, 36, 1, February 1983, p. 9.
[102] Schwarz, *London in the age of industrialisation*,p. 175; R. S. Tucker, 'Real Wages of Artisans in London, 1729-1935' in A. J. Taylor (ed.), *The Standard of Living in Britain in the Industrial Revolution* (London, 1975), p. 25.
[103] Lackington, *Memoirs*, p. 194.
[104] Brown, *Sixty Years Gleanings*, p. 27; George, *London Life*, p. 92.
[105] George, *London Life*, p. 167; BMBJ 10/5/1777; FFBJ 11/10/1777.
[106] M. W. Flinn, 'Trends in Real Wages, 1750-1850', *Economic History Review*, 27, 1974, p. 402.; Lindert and Williamson, 'English Workers' Living Standards', p. 9.
[107] Neale, 'a Regional and Class Study', pp. 598-599.
[108] Feinstein, 'Pessimism Perpetuated', p. 638.
[109] George, *London Life*, p. 92.
[110] Lackington, *Memoirs*, p. 197.
[111] *Ibid.*
[112] Bgaz 24/3/1796.
[113] Davies, *Labourers in Husbandry*, p. 21; Eden, *State of the Poor*, p. 184. Even in 1797 coal only cost 3 ½d per bushel in Bristol.
[114] Feinstein, 'Pessimism Perpetuated', p. 636.
[115] Thus Lindert and Williamson concluded that 'there is no alternative' to using wholesale prices since retail prices rarely exist, while Schwarz posited that lack of retail prices has engendered a reliance on 'wholesale prices'. See Lindert and Williamson, 'English Workers' Living Standards', p. 8.; L. D. Schwarz, 'The Standard of Living in the Long Run: London, 1700-1860, *Economic History Review*, 38, 1985, p. 27.
[116] Feinstein, 'Pessimism Perpetuated', p. 636.
[117] Lindert and Williamson, 'English Workers' Living Standards', p. 11.
[118] Bmerc 1/6/1795.
[119] Bmerc 20/7/1795.
[120] FFBJ 18/7/1778.
[121] SFBJ 26/7/1783.
[122] Bmerc 15/6/1795.
[123] Lindert and Williamson, 'English Workers' Living Standards', p. 8. The authors include Gayer-Rostow-Schwartz, Silberling, and Rousseaux among them, and so are therefore beyond comparison.
[124] Phelps Brown and Hopkins, 'Seven Centuries of the Prices of Consumables', pp. 195-196.; The Schumpeter-Gilboy Index was taken from M. J. Daunton, *Progress and Poverty: An Economic and Social*

History of Britain, 1700-1850 (Oxford, 1995), p. 579; Tucker, 'Artisans in London', pp. 28-29; Feinstein, 'Pessimism Perpetuated', pp. 652-653. Feinstein's study began in 1770, so the figure for this year was repeated for 1769. Unfortunately other indexes did not have the requisite time-span. The index provided by Lindert and Williamson (L&W) only began in 1781, while the Gayer-Rostow-Schwartz (GRS) index only started in 1790. See Lindert and Williamson, 'English Workers' Living Standards', p. 11, and the GRS index in Daunton, *Progress and Poverty*, p. 580.

[125] Thus Phelps-Brown and Hopkins used various sources from 'Southern England', see their 'Seven Centuries of the Prices of Consumables, p. 193; Tucker based his on London hospital records, see his 'Artisans in London', p. 24; Feinstein also largely used London and institutional prices for food, see his 'Pessimism Perpetuated', p. 636.

[126] Phelps Brown and Hopkins, 'Seven Centuries of the Prices of Consumables', pp. 195-196; Daunton, *Progress and Poverty*, p. 579 (for S-G Index); Tucker, 'Artisans in London', pp. 28-29; Feinstein, 'Pessimism Perpetuated', pp. 652-653.

[127] Daunton, *Progress and Poverty*, p. 579.

[128] Lindert and Williamson, 'English Workers' Living Standards', p. 11.

[129] Feinstein, 'Pessimism Perpetuated', p. 636.

[130] See Daunton, *Progress and Poverty*, p. 580.

[131] A. Smith, *The Wealth of Nations, Books I-III* (1776; 1970 edn.), p. 176.

[132] FFBJ 11/10/1777.

[133] One wonders why Lindert and Williamson calculated yearly rates when they admitted that 'the choice of numbers of weeks per year is arbitrary and matters little to what follows'. See Lindert and Williamson, 'English Workers Living Standards', p. 3.

[134] BMBJ 10/5/1777.

[135] Lackington, *Memoirs*, p. 197.

[136] Bgaz 24/3/1796.

[137] Tucker, 'Artisans in London', p. 26, 28; Schwarz, 'The Standard of Living in the Long Run', p. 40. Schwarz borrowed earnings of London bricklayers compiled by Phelps Brown and Hopkins. Considering the close correlation between the graph-lines of Schwarz and Tucker, it is ironic that Schwarz considered that Tucker's index was 'open to very serious objections indeed' since they were 'not representative for London'. Schwarz, p. 25; Feinstein, 'Pessimism Perpetuated', pp. 652-653.

[138] Tucker, 'Artisans in London', p. 28.

[139] Schwarz, 'The Standard of Living in the Long Run', p. 37.

[140] Feinstein, 'Pessimism Perpetuated, p. 631.

[141] *Ibid.*, p. 642.

[142] *Ibid.*, pp. 652-653.

[143] Schwarz, 'The Standard of Living in the Long Run', p. 28.

[144] Neale, 'a Regional and Class Study', p. 600.

PART THREE: AGENCY: THE ENTRY OF ARTISANS INTO THE 'PUBLIC SPHERE'

CHAPTER 5: NEGOTIATING THE PUBLIC SPHERE, THE 'RHETORIC OF NEED' AND WAGE BARGAINING IN BRISTOL, 1770-1800

This chapter analyses collective bargaining techniques used by Bristol's tailors in 1773, 1777, 1781, 1790, and in 1796, and by the city's shoemakers in 1777 and 1792. These years witnessed strike action over wage demands, evidence of which survives from various announcements placed by journeymen and masters in the local press. This method of collective bargaining has been overlooked by previous studies of labour history. Yet, the insertions detail numerous grievances and offer a number of new perspectives for consideration. The airing of grievances in the provincial press invites analysis, for example, of the engagement between artisans and the burgeoning urban culture or 'public sphere' of the period. The bargaining consciousness of these artisans can be viewed through the prism of their own collective language. It needs to be asked to what extent the journeymen primed their demands with the public platform of the press in mind. The chapter therefore addresses various themes that arose across the period, in preference to using a narrative approach that chronicles action in individual years. The first issue for discussion relates to concern over food prices and the recurring use of this reason for greater wages is assessed in the light of the material position of journeymen, discussed in chapter four. This chapter will consider whether references to poverty and food prices indicated real need or constituted an engaging tactic for 'public' consumption. The chapter then moves on to discuss specifically trade-related issues, including the effect of organised unions on these disputes. Such issues include the timing of disputes and their relation to seasonal trends within a trade, the strength of the journeymen's organisations and the funds they collected, and how they sought to control the labour supply during disputes.

Before discussion of these thematic issues can begin, it is necessary to establish whether the newspaper evidence represented occurrences of industrial action, rather than just requests for higher pay. In 1773 the journeymen tailors reported that due to the stand-off over wage levels there were 'above one hundred out of Employ in this City', while William Merryman, master tailor, informed customers that 'the present Stop in his Branch of Business' was 'on account of the Journeymen advancing their Wages'.[1] In October 1777 the journeymen tailors reported that 'there are at present upwards of 200 out of Employ in this City' due to the wage claim.[2] The 1781 agitation was also clearly a strike because the masters sought to recruit 200 new journeymen at a time when the latter urged tailors elsewhere to give the city a wide berth.[3] In 1790 a letter to the press from an anonymous writer made it clear that the tailors were on strike. The writer warned masters that 'if the

matter is not speedily settled' then 'you will stand a fair chance of losing a great deal of your business' to 'Bath and 'London'.[4] In 1796 Robert Tripp, master tailor, stated that the Bristol 'Journeymen refused to work at their former prices', suggesting an all-out strike was in full flow.[5] Bristol's journeymen shoemakers were clearly on strike in 1777 because the city's masters sought one thousand men to replace them, and apologised to their customers for the 'unavoidable Delays' that the actions of the 'Journeymen have occasioned'.[6] In May 1792 it was also clear that Bristol's ladies' shoemakers had gone on strike, because the journeymen stated that 'the imposition of their employers' was 'of such a nature as obliges them to quit their work' until their wages were raised.[7] In mid July 1792 the shoemakers reported that they had 'stood out now for these 11 weeks past'.[8] There is little doubt that in these instances the journeymen were clearly on strike in the fullest sense. The fact that journeymen chose to advertise their grievances in local newspapers draws attention to the developing importance of newspapers as a means of communication in late eighteenth-century Bristol.

The Public Sphere

The development of newspapers can be linked to the growth of a 'public sphere' in the eighteenth century. It was the German thinker Jurgen Habermas who developed this idea, believing that 'traffic in news developed alongside the traffic in commodities' as the expansion of distant markets 'required more frequent and exact information about distant events'.[9] According to Habermas, the genesis of this public dissemination of news dated to 'the end of the seventeenth century' although the phrase 'public sphere' only entered the German vocabulary 'during the eighteenth century'. In England the term 'public opinion' did not become current 'in the second half of the eighteenth century'.[10] Habermas's work has had a major impact on social and cultural history in the last twenty years.[11] Given Habermas's argument that it was the 'great trade cities' that became 'centers for the traffic in news', the development of a vibrant provincial 'public sphere' in eighteenth-century Bristol is to be expected.[12] Bristol's journeymen were therefore engaging with this growing 'public sphere' when they placed advertisements in the late eighteenth century. However, Habermas did not foresee the involvement of working men in the 'public sphere', since his theory emphasised the idea of a 'bourgeois public sphere'.[13] Craig Calhoun argues that this approach neglected the sense in which 'social movements' were able to alter the 'agenda of public discourse', and that Habermas showed an 'inattention to agency' and the manner in which historical actors 'actively made and remade' their public discourse.[14] As a result, Calhoun called for a more 'pluralistic'

approach to the concept of the 'public sphere'.[15] This has been developed by Geoff Eley, in particular; Eley argues that a 'distinctively working-class public sphere' arose in England between 1816 and 1848, although the development itself is linked by Eley to 'the experiences of the 1790s'.[16] While Eley's general conclusions are no doubt valid, in Bristol at least the involvement of working men in the 'public sphere' appears to have predated the 1790s. This is not surprising considering the growth of provincial newspapers throughout the eighteenth century, as this medium clearly represented a path to a wide audience. Between 1700 and 1760 'one hundred and thirty different newspapers had been started' across the country, while Bristol provides 'the earliest extant copy' of a provincial paper dating from 1704.[17] In tandem with this the 'circulation of newspapers doubled' between 1753 and 1792 as newspapers came to be read by ever wider sections of eighteenth-century society.[18]

All this suggests that Bristol journeymen, by inserting their claims in the press, would have reached a varied and growing audience. The distribution cycle of the *Bristol Mercury* in 1792, marketed throughout Somerset, Gloucestershire, Wiltshire, South Wales, London, York, Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, Oxford, and Cambridge, is illustrative.[19] Bristol newspapers also offered a particularly useful medium for the city's journeymen because by the 1750s Bristol's newspapers had become 'virtually trade papers with their main emphasis upon local trade and commerce'.[20] It was in this context then that journeymen took the opportunity to put forward their own opinions on matters that affected them. In this light, the use of insertions in the provincial newspaper press offers a new and fruitful perspective on eighteenth-century labour disputes. Historians have paid, at best, limited attention to this phenomenon in the past. Thus, for example, While John Rule notes that journeymen such as the Exeter wool-sorters used newspaper insertions in 1787, he does not fully analyse this facet of artisanal agitation.[21]

By placing adverts in the public domain the journeymen were inviting public interest in their disputes. After all, masters could have been approached privately and without the use of such public advertisement. The fact that insertions cost four shillings apiece confirms that this strategy was important to the journeymen.[22] Advertising their grievances in public had a definite purpose, and Bristol's shoemakers and tailors made it abundantly clear that it was the 'Public' that they were addressing. In 1773, for example, Bristol's journeymen tailors stated their case for higher wages and added that they 'therefore submit it to the Candour of the Public'. In October 1777, they again felt it 'necessary' to 'lay their Case before the Public'.[23] In 1790, Bristol's tailors likewise hoped that a full account of their

reason for striking would 'satisfy the candid Public'.[24] In 1796, the tailors made an 'Address to the Public' on the refusal of their wage claim, in which they stated that they 'trust that the generous Public will support a cause which will appear and be explained in a future paper'.[25] Bristol's shoemakers also sought the public ear during their fight for greater remuneration in 1777 and 1792. In 1777 the journeymen looked to convey their 'Sentiments' to the 'Public', reassuring them that they wished to act 'very far from any Thing that is riotous or combined'.[26] In 1792 Bristol's ladies shoemakers felt 'compelled to inform the Public' of their need for a wage increase while the city's boot-makers felt that 'propriety compelled' them to 'lay their case before a candid and impartial Public (*sic*)'.[27]

The use of such methods of collective bargaining by Bristol's shoemakers and tailors was, in fact, far from unique. London's tailors had, for example, used such methods in 1756, as had Bath's shoemakers in 1792.[28] Journeymen were clearly seeking to gain the public ear and two factors explain why this was so. Firstly, desire for public approval may have lain in the fact that unlike populations of colliers or woollen workers, each trade in Bristol was relatively small in demographic terms and outnumbered by the rest of the populace. Tailors and shoemakers were therefore unlike the outworking weavers and colliers described by Dobson: groups such as these formed an 'isolated mass' of people that lived in 'separate communities' in which there were 'few neutrals to mediate conflicts'.[29] According to Poole, West Country weavers and miners could also organise as whole communities, again in contrast to the 'mixed artisan trades', and so it was unnecessary for such groups to court public support given their 'formidable collective bargaining power'.[30] As chapter 3 reveals, although journeymen tended to concentrate in certain areas of Bristol, this level of concentration was never such as to totally dominate those areas. Even in their own 'districts', they were still outnumbered by the rest of the local populace. In London, artisans such as tailors and shoemakers also lived in areas surrounded by other sections of the urban poor, with the result that the workshop and the pub 'defined their community' rather than the street.[31] By contrast, in some Lancashire textile villages, marriage registers listed between one-third and one-half of couples as handloom weavers, revealing 'extremely cohesive' communities.[32] In Bristol therefore the 'community' was comprised of many different occupations, in marked contrast to weaving and mining villages.

Secondly, the refusal of masters to accede to wage claims also accounts for the adoption of this strategy. The fact that Bristol's master tailors and shoemakers seldom looked favourably on the claims of their journeymen made it necessary for the latter to seek support among the wider 'public'. Whereas groups such as weavers and miners were more

likely to express their grievances in forms of crowd activity, Bristol's journeymen, as a result of the city's social demography, were more likely to seek a public forum in which to express disputes. It is worth delineating the responses of masters in order to understand the climate in which journeymen expressed their claims. Table 5:1 lists the main responses of masters during the wage disputes. It would appear that Bristol's masters were, in general, not overly receptive to wage claims in the tailoring and shoemaking trades. Indeed, only in

Table 5:1 : Response of Masters to Pay Claims of Bristol's Tailors and Shoemakers^

Trade and Year	Labour sought	Duration of appeal	Masters advertise refusal	% of Masters	Masters advertise Consent	% of Masters
1773 Tailors	100 Men	April – July	-	-	-	-
1777 Tailors	Unknownnumber	October	-	-	-	-
1781 Tailors	200 Men	April – May	-	-	-	-
1790 Tailors	200 Men	April – May	-	-	-	-
1796 Tailors	250 Men	March – May	11 Master 31/3/1796	12.36%*	-	-
			42 Master 7/4/1796	47.19%*	-	-
1777 Sh-makes	1,000 Men	June	32 Master 17/5/1777	26.45%**	-	-
			15 Master 21/6/1777	12.40%**	16 Master 14/6/1777	13.22%**
1792 Sh-Makers	Unknown number	May – June	21 Master 5/5/1792	31.82%*	13 Master 7/7/1792	19.70%*

^ For a full list of references please refer to the text.
* Based on figures collated from *Mathews's Bristol Directory, 1793-4* (Bristol, 1794).
** Based on figures collated from *Sketchley's Bristol Directory 1775* (1971 reprint).

two shoemaking disputes did any number of masters agree publicly to a rise, and even in these cases no more than 20 per cent of masters acceded. Master tailors never publicly acceded. Their usual response was to place adverts for labour to replace the men on strike. In 1773, for example, Bristol's master tailors advertised for 100 journeymen every week for a period of three months in three separate newspapers.[33] This set the tone for later tailors' disputes. Thus, in 1777, 'any number of good Workmen' were advised to apply to the masters for 'immediate and constant Employ', and in 1781 'TWO HUNDRED JOURNEYMEN TAYLORS (*sic*)' were sought for 'constant Employ'.[34] This latter insertion ran for six weeks. In the disputes of 1790 and 1796 collective meetings of masters to discuss demands were publicly advertised, presumably in order to galvanise and demonstrate the collective strength of the employers. In April 1790, the 'MASTER TAYLORS of this City (*sic*)' were invited to attend a meeting in order to 'take into consideration the present demand of the Journeymen for a further advance of their wages'.[35] A meeting also took place in 1796 when an unspecified number of masters

assembled to consider 'the demand made by the Journeymen for advance of wages'.[36] These meetings ended in the refusal of the journeymen's claims. In 1790, the masters advertised for 'TWO HUNDRED JOURNEYMEN TAYLORS (*sic*)' who were to be given 'immediate and constant employ', and in 1796 an advertisement sought '250 JOURNEYMEN (*sic*)'. Both these adverts were repeatedly published.[37]

In common with tailors, master shoemakers sought labour that was clearly intended to replace those involved in disputes. In June 1777, 'One Thousand Men' were requested: the massive number of strike-breakers required can be attributed to the demands of the war.[38] In 1792, Bristol's master shoemakers called for 'steady, sober and industrious Men' to 'meet with constant and full employ' in both the shoe and boot-making branches, without specifying the number required.[39] Furthermore, in the shoemaking trade, masters published their explicit refusals of their journeymen's claims in the newspapers (see table 5:1). In 1777, for example, thirty-two master shoemakers initially opposed the claim in this way, representing 26.45 per cent of masters listed in a contemporary trade directory.[40] In 1792, twenty-one masters likewise signed a notice denying the validity of the men's claim, representing around 31.82 per cent of the city's master shoemakers.[41] In 1796, eleven master tailors signed their names to a refusal. A week later this had risen to forty-two names, representing 12.36 and 47.19 per cent respectively of masters in Bristol.[42] All this suggests that a significant minority of masters in both trades were organised in order to deny the claims of the journeymen.

Given that varying levels of opposition from masters were evident in all seven disputes under consideration, it is hardly surprising that insertions in the newspaper press became a veritable field of battle. In 1773 and again in 1777, journeymen tailors asked the public to consider 'whether the Masters or they are to blame' for the impasse.[43] In 1790, the tailors claimed 'the public have been informed' by the masters that they wished to have wages 'adequate to the Wages in London', a claim that was 'false' since they only required a 'small advance' of two-pence per day.[44] In 1792, Bristol's journeymen boot-makers attributed their reason for inserting their demands to a 'false assertion of their Employers'.[45] Masters, however, were also adept in this war of words. In a general insertion, the master tailors accused journeymen in 1796 of imposing the 'most palpable misrepresentations' on 'the Public'.[46] In 1777, Bristol's master shoemakers were especially intransigent in their use of language. They claimed that the 'usual Wages' of their journeymen were 'sufficient to maintain any sober Family', stating that 'the present wages are sufficient for those that are industrious' and claiming that the 'great Majority of the

Masters are steadily resolved not to comply with the Demands of their Men'.[47] In 1777, masters were also clearly looking to publicly apportion blame to the journeymen when they mentioned that 'an Advance of Wages would hurt their home Customers'.[48] In 1792, Bristol's master shoemakers once more adamantly declared that the current wages were 'sufficient to maintain any sober family'.[49]

The attitudes of masters, particularly in the shoemaking trade, to issues of sobriety and industriousness, were representative of more widespread attitudes to work in the eighteenth century. Thus, a fairly 'broad consensus' appeared to hold that 'the higher the wages labourers and artisans received the less they worked' on the grounds that 'high wages bred laziness, disorderliness and debauchery' while 'low wages bred industry and diligence'.[50] Thus Bernard Mandeville, for example, felt that if journeymen can 'by Four Days Labour in a Week maintain themselves (they) will hardly be persuaded to work the fifth'.[51] Bristol masters, whether from genuine concern or self-interest, were, therefore, echoing wider notions when they argued that greater wages would induce more 'lengthy and frequent sojourns in the alehouse' and be 'likely to promote conspiracy'.[52] Nevertheless while some eighteenth-century contemporaries may have believed that there was 'a strong relationship between increasing reward and decreasing effort', Hatcher has recently argued that this does not necessarily mean 'that such a relationship existed in practice'.[53] Rule also contends that these themes should be interpreted in terms of a 'utility of poverty' theory and concludes that the idea was 'to a degree independent of its truth'.[54] According to Hatcher, moreover, by 'the 1760s and 1770s' concern among economic writers was not so much centred upon 'high wages' and 'idleness' but upon 'high prices' and the 'inability of working people to purchase an adequate subsistence'.[55] In this regard, and in the face of the intransigence of many masters, it is not surprising that journeymen made repeated reference to the high prices of the period.

The Rhetoric of Need

The manner in which references to high prices were expressed was far from disparate, either between trades or over the years. Indeed, journeymen used rather formulaic and recurrent language, forming an idiom that can for convenience be called a 'rhetoric of need'. The use of a recurring form of rhetoric bears out John Rule's maxim that workers over the years 'preserved in experience and tradition a sufficient knowledge of possible forms of action'.[56] While this rhetorical idiom was no doubt easy to replicate as a bargaining tool, the need was, however, all too real as the evidence of rising prices over the thirty years, discussed in chapter 4, has shown. When Adam Smith noted that the 'high

price of provisions' were among the 'usual pretences' used by journeymen to justify raising 'the price of their labour', it suggests that such claims had a hollow ring.[57] However, Smith did allow that wages should be 'sufficient to maintain' a man and allow 'him to bring up a family', an endeavour that was becoming harder if concerns voiced over high prices in the late eighteenth-century newspapers are to be believed.[58] The development of a 'rhetoric of need', by journeymen must, therefore, be set in the context of developing concern among wide sections of society over high prices in this period.

In 1773, Bristol's journeymen tailors made frequent reference to the 'advanced Price of Provisions' in their quest for higher wages, while the refusal of masters to raise wages over a four-month period led the journeymen to claim that they 'still labour' from the 'Hardships they have long complained of'.[59] In 1777, journeymen tailors again cited 'the Dearness of every Article of Life' during their wage agitation.[60] Such language set the tone for many of the references made to prices in the period. While the tailors made reference to the 'dearness of provisions' in 1790, in 1796 their claim arose from 'a sense of their Wages not being adequate to the dearness of Provisions and other Necessaries of Life'.[61] In 1777, Bristol's journeymen shoemakers lamented the declining purchasing power of their wages. They opined that provisions are 'at an exorbitant Price' compared to 'sixteen Years ago' when wages were 'considerably more in every Pair than at this time'.[62] In 1792, Bristol's boot-makers talked of the 'exorbitant price of provisions and the dearness of house-rent', and the fact that many men had 'large families to provide for', while the ladies' men reported that without a raise 'they really cannot decently and comfortably support themselves and families'.[63] In June 1792, the boot-makers and ladies shoemakers jointly reiterated that their demand was 'not at all unreasonable considering the dearness of provisions and every other article towards the maintenance of our families'.[64] In 1796, Bristol's boot-makers and men's shoemakers lamented that their wages were insufficient to 'support a wife and perhaps a family in this season of general distress', when 'most of the necessaries of life are raised in price three times as much as they were some time since'.[65] While high prices, therefore, clearly formed a major component of the bargaining stance of Bristol's shoemakers and tailors, it was a tactic which was also used by London's tailors in 1772 and in 1800, and by Bath's shoemakers in 1792.[66] Journeymen in other Bristol trades likewise utilised this 'rhetoric of need' during a variety of industrial disputes between the 1770s and the 1790s. In 1776, for example, Bristol's carpenters argued that 'their present Wages (were) insufficient to support them and their Families', while in 1799 the carpenters again drew attention to 'the advanced price of every article and necessary of life' in pursuit

of higher wages.[67] The perception that food prices were outstripping earnings was, therefore, a common one among Bristol's artisans.

Neither was the idea that wage levels had not kept pace with price levels confined to journeymen themselves. The Berkshire rector, David Davies had found 'labouring families' in his parish to be 'indifferently fed' and 'badly clothed'. He could not attribute the cause to underemployment or drinking but in the men's own words to the fact that, "Every thing is so dear, that we can hardly live".[68] Writing in 1792, a writer to a Bath paper also mirrored the concerns of journeymen concerning low real wages. He felt that the 'discontent of the Handicrafts' was due to a situation in which 'not having any advance of wages' for 'more than 50 years past' they 'pay as much for the articles of life' now as 'in reality was not more than half their value at that period'.[69] Adam Smith also believed that wages did not 'fluctuate with the price of provisions', and that 'the money price of labour remains uniformly the same sometimes for half a century together'.[70] Smith was writing in 1776 and remarked that 'the high price of provisions during these ten years past has not in many parts of the kingdom been accompanied with any sensible rise in the money price of labour'.[71]

Having established that the 'rhetoric of need' formed a popular part of the collective bargaining consciousness of eighteenth-century Bristol journeymen, it is important to assess the relationship between this rhetoric and the actual material position of journeymen when claims were being made. Did, for example, the standard of living fall immediately prior to labour agitation? By comparing the timing of the disputes with trends represented in the cost of living index (table 4:7), the effect of prices upon wage claims can be gauged. During their 1773 agitation the tailors did not appear to be dealing in empty-handed rhetoric. Between 1770 and 1773 the cost of living had risen by 13.81 per cent; these were the second and third highest years for the cost of living in the 1770s and 1780s. In terms of tailors' real wages (table 4:8), 1773 was only lower than 1795 and 1796 in the whole period between 1773 and 1796.[72] In 1777, a year when both tailors and shoemakers were actively making claims, the situation is less clear. The cost of living was fairly low in this year; 7.43 per cent less than it had been in 1773. However, this is misleading for 1776 was the second lowest year for the thirty-year period, and so in the short term 1777 prices had risen by 7.69 per cent on those of the previous year. Short-term fluctuations, therefore, while not perhaps a primary cause, could also form the backdrop to action. While 1781 prices were fairly medium-range, low prices in 1779 and 1780 meant that between 1779 and 1781 the cost of living had risen by 15.4 per cent. In 1781, the real wages of tailors had

fallen 13.35 per cent on those of 1779, and 4.93 per cent on those of 1780. In 1781, therefore, short-term fluctuations formed the immediate context of the journeymen's action, even though prices were not directly mentioned in the rhetoric of the journeymen. By contrast, 1790, the year of another tailor agitation, witnessed a far clearer correlation. 1790 was the sixth-highest year for prices over the entire thirty-year period. The cost of living increased by 8.07 per cent between 1789 and 1790, and by 13.47 per cent between 1788 and 1790. The real wages of tailors decreased by 11.87 per cent between 1788 and 1790, and by 7.46 per cent between 1789 and 1790. In 1796, the cost of living was at its third highest of the period while 1795, the previous year, had seen the second highest price levels. As a result, between 1794 and 1796, the cost of living increased by 18.58 per cent, and by 32.43 per cent between 1792 and 1796. Rising prices, therefore, could have a very real effect on the disposition of journeymen to take action. Thus, use of rhetoric of high prices bore at least some relationship to the material conditions in which journeymen found themselves.

The correlation between strike years and high prices has also concerned other historians. While the Bristol evidence would appear to support Roger Wells' view that there was a clear connection between the food crisis of 1795/6 and what he termed a 'seminal period of union activity', other historians have been less convinced.[73] Thus, Chase notes that disputes in the 1760s arose at a time of 'acute food shortage and spiralling inflation', but that most disputes did not occur in 1763 when privation was at its worst, while in the 1790s 'disputes in the famine years of 1795-6 were exceeded in 1792'.[74] Likewise, Rule, utilising Dobson's count of eighteenth-century disputes, argues that the 'evidence of industrial disputes' does not 'suggest a fit with distressed years'. Thus, 62 per cent of disputes in the 1790s occurred between 1791 and 1793, 'the years before there was a downturn in the earnings and expectations of skilled workers'.[75] Nevertheless, in contrast to the claims of Rule and Chase, the Bristol evidence reveals the extent to which short-term fluctuations could form an important context to claims. It is also worth noting that of 338 labour disputes counted by Dobson, a massive 273 were concerned with wages and hours, while only 65 were concerned with workplace issues such as apprenticeship, working arrangements and machinery.[76] Considering the nature of rising prices in the second half of the eighteenth century, it would be strange if a considerable number of disputes did not have at least some origin in concerns over rising prices.

While the 'rhetoric of need' was strongly redolent of 'moral economic' imperatives, in terms of the assertion of absolute need, this is probably as far as the comparison can be

drawn.[77] Although Chase argues that 'early trade unions were heirs to the means by which the seventeenth and eighteenth-century crowd sought to uphold a moral economy', and Clark claimed that workers defended a 'moral economy' against 'fluctuating wages', neither of these authors has provided any substantial evidence to back their claims.[78] According to John Rule, the language of an 'industrial moral economy' was more relevant to rural communities of weavers and knitters where 'defence of customary standards and expectations' was evident, than to the bargaining tactics of 'well-established groups of urban craftsmen' such as tailors and compositors.[79] Lis and Soly, likewise, argue that while journeymen may have displayed 'moral economic values' these were by themselves 'not synonymous with a moral economy' since a 'moral economy entails specific interventions to regulate the market'.[80] The only market that the Bristol journeymen were attempting to intervene in was the labour market for, like urban artisans in general, they were 'selling their labour in a collective context'.[81] While the 'rhetoric of need' was, therefore, clearly underpinned by 'moral economic values', it was also the case that the collective experiences of journeymen led them to justify their claims in terms of profits made by their masters.

In this regard journeymen waged a propaganda campaign, fought firmly within the arena of the 'public sphere', which attempted to illustrate that their respective trades could afford to pay them higher wages. While the theme of high food prices was a regular feature among wage claims, equally recurrent was the theme that profit margins justified an increase in wages. This implies that the journeymen felt the market-rate of their wages was falling below profit levels. Journeymen therefore sometimes looked to gain public support for higher wages by seeking to portray the masters as swindling both customers and the journeymen. In 1796, for example, Bristol's journeymen tailors drew attention to the fact that while London wages were eleven shillings greater per week than those paid in Bristol, tailoring charges were similar to 'those of London'. This led the journeymen to conclude that Bristol masters 'can well afford to pay their Men superior wages'.[82] In 1777, Bristol's journeymen shoemakers certainly felt that the masters were cheating both the customers and the journeymen. The journeymen reported that some masters had increased the price of shoes for which they had given 'no other Reason' than a reputed wage increase. This, the journeymen declared, had never been awarded.[83] According to Adam Smith, alongside food prices, journeymen often cited the 'great profit which their masters make by their work' as a reason for pay claims.[84] Further evidence of this can be seen in Bristol. Between May and August 1773, Bristol's journeymen tailors regularly asserted that their employers 'can very well comply' with an advance as 'they have sufficient Profit out of the Men's

Labour'.[85] In 1790, the journeymen presented the same demand in more public-friendly language when they stated that their request for higher wages was so small 'that it cannot in the least injure our Employers nor the Public'.[86] This suggests that the journeymen sought to reassure the public that a wage increase could be financed without the need for price increases.

Similar conclusions can be drawn from Bristol's boot-makers who, in 1792, argued that 'the profits of that part of our trade' could afford a wage increase and 'leave a competent surplus to the Masters', sentiments also echoed by Bath's shoemakers who were engaged in their own strike.[87] Likewise, in May 1792, Bristol's lady-shoemakers felt the advance required 'may be granted without injuring their Masters or the Public'.[88] Such language was intended to reassure customers that a pay increase did not mean an increase in the price of shoes. However, in June 1792, as the dispute continued into a second month, the ladies' shoemakers appeared to try a very different tack. This time they expressed their hope that the public would 'not hesitate to pay the additional Charge' on footwear 'should their employers comply with their request, and in consequence raise the price of the same'.[89] Arguably, this strategy worked on two levels. Firstly, the journeymen were looking to gain enough public sympathy for a price increase to allow them a rise in wages. Secondly, however, the journeymen were also communicating to the masters in a very subtle manner. This can be compared to Clifford Geertz's description of the manner in which winking can be both intended and construed in many different ways. While Geertz talked of activities such as winking in terms of 'structures of signification', he also observed that it could also be used to communicate 'without cognizance of the rest of the company'.[90] In many ways, the ladies' men were using a semantic version of Geertz's wink, for while their insertion was ostensibly addressed to the 'public', the language was also surely intended for the ears of their masters. Thus, the journeymen were actually making their masters aware of a way out of the impasse. Raise the prices, they are saying, in order to pay for our wage increase, and we will attempt to persuade the public of the necessity of such an increase. That this approach was not similarly adopted by the boot-makers, suggests that the ladies' men were addressing a higher class of clientele, especially as it was a branch of business that was dependent on 'close contact with high society'.[91] It would appear that this tactic worked. In July 1792, both the ladies shoemakers and boot-makers made a joint insertion, in which they gave 'humble and sincere thanks to the Public in general' and especially 'those private gentlemen who have supported us in so laudable an undertaking, which will redound to their honour'.[92] The success of the 1792 action encouraged Bristol's journeymen to launch a similar propaganda offensive in 1796, when

alarm in the local newspapers over high prices was at its peak. Thus, in March 1796, they addressed the 'public' in the hope that 'your philanthropy will countenance' rising prices 'as it will thereby enable our Employers to comply with our request'.[93] It would appear that the journeymen had become hardened to the reality that the masters would not allow wage increases without concomitant price rises which would leave their profit levels unaffected. The journeymen, therefore, sought direct 'public' approval for a wage increase.

The bargaining ethos in which this particular strand of the artisans' language was couched would appear to justify Malcolmson's notion that labour disputes were driven by popular notions of what constituted a 'fair minimum for wages', just as 'there was thought to be a fair maximum for food prices'.[94] Bristol journeymen, therefore, resented their masters making unnecessary profits from their labour at a time when they were having difficulties providing for themselves and their families. This appears to support Rule's differentiation between offensive strikes that provided evidence of a 'trade union consciousness' and those of a 'moral' character in which he doubted whether eighteenth-century workers 'had jumped with both feet into a system of industrial relations'.[95] On the basis of this differentiation, Rule argues that workers were in fact aware both of a 'moral' perception that rejected the 'free labour market' and expected wage bargaining to occur within 'customary parameters', and also of the 'laissez-faire' notion that labour should be acquired at the lowest possible price.[96] Bristol's shoemakers and tailors certainly revealed such a dichotomy in their own bargaining consciousness, reinforcing Rule's conclusions.

However, it would be wrong to suppose that notions of fairness were confined solely to the journeymen, as it was not the case that all masters automatically opposed wage claims. Thus, Rule posits that 'masters were not always insensitive to the pressures of rising food prices and often compromised in wage demands based on cost of living grounds'.[97] In 1752, for example, London's journeymen tailors sought higher wages due to 'rises in the cost of living' and a 'large part of the masters sympathised' with the claim.[98] John Rees, the Bristol master shoemaker, accepted in principle that when 'the necessary articles of life' happen to 'advance' in price the wages of the men 'should keep pace with them'.[99] Analysis of table 5:1 suggests that not all the masters were implacably opposed to wage demands. Thus, even during the tailoring dispute of 1796, when 47.19 per cent of masters publicly rejected the claim, over half the masters were, at least not publicly, opposed to the wage claim. In the 1777 shoemaking dispute only 26.45 per cent of masters were initially opposed in May, a figure which had fallen to 12.40 per cent by June, at the same time as 13.22 per cent of masters publicly acceded to the rise. These figures would appear to

indicate that among those masters who by June had agreed to the claim, there were some who had initially opposed the claim in May. This conclusion is far from conjectural, since six masters who had initially opposed the claim were among the sixteen who later assented to the demand.[100] In the 1792 shoemaking dispute while 31.82 per cent of masters initially opposed the claim, a few weeks later one-fifth of masters had been publicly cited as awarding the claim. While the figures suggest that many masters may have sat on the fence, it is clear that some had no problem in awarding higher wages. In May 1777, for instance, the master shoemaker William Edwards unilaterally raised wages on the basis that 'our Men could not support their Families on the usual Wages of this City'.[101] The fact that Edwards was not among the 16 signatories that publicly consented to the rise suggests that this list represented a conservative estimate of those agreeing to the increase. In April 1781, the master tailor James Davis reported that 'he has no Connection with the Disputes between the Master and Journeymen' and stated that he 'always pays the full Wages', suggesting he had allowed the increase.[102] In 1796, the journeymen tailors themselves asserted that 'many of the feeling part of the Masters' had 'generously given this small advance'.[103] Around the same time Clarke, a master shoemaker, advertised that he had been 'the first who stept forward to give the present advance of wages'.[104] There appeared, therefore, to always be at least a group of masters who allowed a claim, while others opposed it.

This scenario was often a factor in London disputes. In 1760, for instance, the Bow Street magistrate Fielding spoke of the problems that London's master tailors had in rebutting wage claims. This was due to the fact that some masters take 'advantage of the confusion' and award the demands while 'many other masters have had a total stop put to their business'.[105] In 1799, it was even claimed that the London shoemaking strike 'had its origins' in the 'folly or ambition of a few masters' who offered more wages 'in order to attract the best hands'.[106] In Bristol, the insertions of master shoemakers against wage claims positively inferred that other masters would accede to the demand. In 1777, it was inherent in their warning that should other masters 'be mean enough to take the Advantage of our Unanimity' and pay the higher wages, then journeymen receiving this would be denied 'future Employ', a warning that was duplicated word for word in May 1792.[107] Journeymen themselves were all too aware of the differences between those masters who consented to their demands, and those who were opposed. In 1777, the rhetorical question asked by journeymen shoemakers made it self-evident which group of masters they recommended to the public. For they contrasted the master that 'generously gives the Hireling his Wages' with the one that 'makes use of all the dirty Methods he can possibly

invent to keep them out of it', and proceeded to ask the public to judge which master 'is the truly great Man'.[108] By 1792, such a melodramatic turn of phrase had been replaced by a more prosaic one when Bristol's boot-makers noted that 'we return our sincere thanks to those Masters who have humanely given the advanced wages'.[109] Throughout June and July 1792 the ladies men and boot-makers commended thirteen masters for having 'given us the wages we required', and advised that these were shops where 'the Public may be supplied with goods of the best quality and executed by the best workmen'.[110] Poole rightly notes that the purpose of such insertions was to encourage boycotts of masters who refused to comply with the demands of the journeymen.[111] Journeymen, therefore, sought to divide employers on the issue of their wage demands, and also looked to encourage the customers of intransigent masters to take their custom elsewhere. Such tactics naturally involved an extensive level of organisational skills.

ORGANISATION

While the advertisements of journeymen made direct and 'public' references to poverty and painted a picture of desperate need, this nevertheless represented only one facet of disputes. It is also necessary to consider underlying factors that are not so immediately evident. Greater understanding of the timing of disputes assists this. One factor that favoured journeymen was the high demand for clothing and footwear evident during the war years. Of the six years in which strikes took place three occurred against the backdrop of war and three during peacetime. Both the 1777 strikes by shoemakers and tailors, and the 1781 tailors' strike took place against the backdrop of the American War of Independence (1775-1783), while 1796 saw Britain in conflict with Revolutionary France.[112] That war years provided a favourable context in which to agitate for higher wages was evident in 1777 when the journeymen shoemakers asserted that 'Trade is very brisk and Men scarce'.[113] This worked in their favour with the result that sixteen masters soon acquiesced to 'the full Wages' demanded by the journeymen. Consequently, these employers were now 'furnished with a sufficient Number of Hands' to meet the orders of 'Merchants and Tradesmen'.[114] This, however, was the only time that journeymen explicitly referred to favourable conditions. Direct espousals of such trade-centred logic militated against the use of 'moral' appeals to the 'public', such as those based on food prices.

While war may have encouraged men to strike, it cannot have provided the sole reason, since half the disputes occurred in peacetime. Evidence suggests that a propitious time to strike occurred during the seasonal cycle of trades. Rule remarks that 'groups of workmen'

chose 'appropriate times to strike', and that they commonly showed an 'appreciation of seasonal peaks'.[115] According to Dobson, a strike among London tailors in 1756 was occasioned by 'the coming of spring and the seasonal shortage of labour' both of which forced 'large numbers of masters (to) forget their resolution' against the journeymen.[116] It would seem that spring was also a propitious time to strike for Bristol's tailors. The journeymen of this trade struck in April in 1773, 1781, 1790, and in March 1796. Timing was inherent in the workings of the tailoring trade; spring marked the transition from winter to summer pay rates. By contrast, October marked the return to winter rates, and significantly perhaps 1777 was the only year in which the tailors struck in winter rather than spring. This suggests that wartime demand had made the men more confident of winning concessions at a time of year when trade was normally in a downturn. In 1777, as a result, there was no talk of the 'Badness of Trade in Winter' as there had been in 1773.[117] However, the fact that the journeymen wished 'to work the Winter Half Year' for winter wages that were one shilling per week less than summer rates, while masters sought a two-shilling reduction, suggests that the journeymen accepted the seasonal changes.[118] Discord arose over the scale of change in seasonal rates rather than the change itself. The majority of disputes occurred in spring, when trade was good, and journeymen sought to advance summer rates beyond their previous levels. In April 1773, for example, Bristol's journeymen tailors sought summer rates of fourteen shillings per week, a two-shilling increase on their winter rate.[119] In April 1781 masters and journeymen again differed by a shilling on the summer wages for that year. While masters offered 14 shillings per week the journeymen sought '2s 6d per day', or 15 shillings per week, a rise that does not seem to have been awarded, because identical amounts were put forward by the masters and men respectively in April 1790.[120] The agitation of 1796 again occurred in the spring, suggesting that changing seasonal wages were a major source of contention between the masters and journeymen in the Bristol tailoring trade.

Bristol's shoemakers, by contrast were paid by the piece, and at differing levels due to the many various items of footwear produced. There is no evidence that their piece rates varied seasonally. Nevertheless, the shoemakers' claims of 1777, 1792, and 1796 all occurred in spring when, like the tailoring trade, demand was at optimum levels.[121] The prevalence of piece-rates may explain why the shoemakers were only involved in two full-blown strikes in the period, compared to six by tailors. The fact that shoemakers were paid by the piece, and tailors in weekly or daily wages, therefore had a bearing on their respective bargaining tactics. Piece rates, by their nature, established the journeymen as a small producer in his own right, with the ability to increase his income in tandem with his work-rate. In May

1777, Bristol's journeymen shoemakers claimed that due to high prices and low wages 'many (of them) have through a painful Necessity been obliged to violate the Holy Sabbath'.[122] They had, in other words, had to work on Sundays in order to survive. The benefits of piece-rates from the masters' perspective were clearly explained by John Rees. Rees, with journeymen shoemakers in mind, felt there were 'none that earn their wages with more attention and labour', since 'piece-work' meant there was no time for 'skulking for two or three hours in the day' if one was 'to expect the same wages at night'.[123] This suggests that the first strategy during times of hardship was to increase production in order to meet spiralling food costs. It was only when shoemakers struggled to make ends meet, despite working a seven-day week, that industrial action was resorted to. This appears to have been the case in 1777. Shoemakers could not oppose the method of wage payment since this was an established practice of the trade, and, as a result, they were presumably more reliant on public sympathy to sustain their claims than tailors were.

The benefits of piece-rates were not lost on Bristol's master tailors. Indeed, the 1796 tailoring dispute was caused by the master tailors' attempts to introduce piece-rates. This move created major tensions between masters and men. The dispute was fully conducted in the public domain.[124] The masters advertised in March 1796 that their new policy was to only employ 'Men willing to work by the Piece', a move they stated was 'for the mutual advantage of the Masters and Journeymen'.[125] Robert Tripp, master tailor, elaborated further when he argued that piece-rates were 'the best mode of ascertaining the value of the Journeyman's labour' and allowing the 'clever and industrious' to earn more than the current 'weekly wages'.[126] As table 5:1 shows, by early April almost half of Bristol's master tailors were publicly dedicated to this plan. They asserted that it was their 'mature deliberation' that 'every ground for future complaint (would) be removed' by introducing piece rates since 'industrious Journeymen' could increase their wages 'in proportion as they encrease their industry (*sic*)'.[127] Bristol masters had perhaps been encouraged by developments in the London trade. In April 1795, London's master tailors had resolved to 'employ the Men in future by the PIECE (*sic*)', and clearly not expecting London-based men to welcome this plan, they had advertised for 'Young Men from the Country' who were 'willing to work by the Piece (*sic*)'.[128] Piece rates were not generally deemed to be an acceptable method of payment by tailors. In 1777, for example, when Birmingham master tailors had attempted to 'replace day rates by piecework', but the proposal was met with a 'long strike' by the journeymen'.[129] In this regard, then, Bristol's journeymen tailors were no different from their counterparts elsewhere.

Journeymen tailors, as with other issues, looked for public support for their opposition to piece rates. The opposition of the journeymen was self-evident when the masters advertised that new recruits would 'be protected from every insult which might be offered them from those who oppose this mode of employment'.[130] The journeymen themselves clearly opposed the new system because they felt that the piece-rates offered were financially 'inadequate to a former day's work'.[131] Turning their attentions outwards, they confidently asserted that 'we well know a discerning Public will never suffer' piece-rates because by piece-rates 'the employer receives every advantage that hurry can give him', while the 'customer (has) every disadvantage from the work being slighted'.[132] In this manner, journeymen portrayed piece-rates as only benefiting the masters. Masters did not let such accusations pass uncontested, assuring readers that 'the Public in general will be better served' by piece-rates.[133] However, as Poole argues, as far as the journeymen tailors were concerned 'piecework was a by-word for shoddiness'.[134] The antagonism created over this issue demonstrates that piece-rates were seen to benefit masters rather than the journeymen.

The sustained nature of the resistance shown by journeymen tailors in 1796 and other years, and by the shoemakers, suggests that some form of organisation existed. In 1777, evidence from shoemakers' advertisements makes clear that an actual union set-up was directing their operations. In June of that year an insertion was addressed to 'all Journeymen Cordwainers' from 'The COMMITTEE', an organisation that issued tickets to denote membership.[135] The purpose of these tickets was ostensibly to affect a closed shop, because they were to be shown when going 'to work for any legal Master'.[136] The implication here was that masters allowing the rise were only to employ those carrying union cards. This was similar to the situation which Brown describes in London, where 'persons subscribing' to union funds were known as "flints"' while those 'who do not join are honoured with the dignified title of "scabs"'.[137] The Bristol union issued a rallying call to fellow journeymen. Addressed to 'the whole Body of JOURNEYMEN Cordwainers in the City of BRISTOL and its Suburbs (*sic*)', the insertion called on the journeymen to 'awake out of that Lethargy' the union felt had existed for 16 years, urging men that 'Now is the Time or never' for action.[138] This organisation represented both men's and women's shoemakers. This was evident when the committee were forced to dispel speculation that there had been a 'Mutiny' between the men's and women's sectors, stating that 'on the Contrary' the two groups were 'determined to stand by each other like so many Brazen Walls'.[139] However, this does reflect the difficulty that the union may have had in uniting groups of men doing essentially different work.

Nevertheless, it also represents the union's commitment to maintaining a united front. This was undoubtedly needed as thirty-two master shoemakers had declared their opposition to 'any Mode of Combination' and threatened to discharge men 'found in any such Associations'.[140] While a united front between the two sectors was regarded as a necessity, evidence suggests that the ladies' and men's shoemakers actually organised separately. In 1792, for example, the boot-makers made two appeals of their own and the ladies' men made four appeals, while just three appeals were jointly made. This suggests that, while unity between all shoemakers was still the central aspect of organisation, different sectional demands were nevertheless deemed worthy of separate insertions in the press.[141]

While in 1792 the journeymen shoemakers made no specific reference to their union structure, twenty-one master shoemakers made it perfectly clear that they were 'unwilling to countenance any mode of combination'.[142] The response of the journeymen to this charge showed that they were at times adept at thinking of their 'public' audience. In ironical tones the ladies' men portrayed the masters as being the ones who had combined by inserting 'one and twenty names in a public advertisement in direct violation of the law'. By contrast, the journeymen described themselves as 'a few Individuals who have made but a *reasonable* request to the support of themselves and families'.[143] The journeymen were, therefore, looking to highlight the contradiction in the law, for as Adam Smith recognised, the law 'does not prohibit' the combinations of masters 'while it prohibits those of the workmen'.[144] In their rejoinder the men were very probably influenced by such sentiments, best encapsulated by Smith, that 'masters are always and everywhere in a sort of tacit but constant and uniform combination not to raise the wages of labour above their actual rate'.[145]

While disputes in the tailoring trade made less reference to unionisation, master tailors in 1790 were clearly opposed to their men's actions on the grounds that they 'wish to check the growing evil of Combinations among Journeymen'.[146] A writer to the local press urged master tailors to seek 'redress' for the 'combination that your journeymen are entered into'.[147] The sheer regularity with which Bristol's journeymen tailors took industrial action certainly suggests at least some form of irregular union structure. Bristol's tailors struck over pay in May 1757, over working hours in May 1762, and over pay again in October 1763.[148] In addition to the five strikes of 1773, 1777, 1781, 1790, and 1796 studied here, in August 1792 six journeymen tailors were found guilty at Bristol's Quarter Sessions of 'a combination and agreement not to work for Fortunatus Hagley' unless he raised wages.[149] These kinds of organisational developments mirrored those in London. By 1721, London's tailors had formed a strong union 'to the number of 15,000' and they conducted strikes in

1744-5, 1752, 1764, 1768 and 1778.[150] By 1760 'the journeymen tailors had the most powerful union in London' consisting of forty-two 'affiliated clubs', and according to Dobson, the 'London society of journeymen tailors was the most militant and effective trade union in eighteenth-century England'.[151] In eighteenth-century Bristol organised unions were probably likewise never far from the heart of industrial action.

In the tailoring trade, the house of call played an important role in disputes. According to the Webbs, the 'house of call' provided the opportunity to form 'the nucleus of an organisation'.[152] Dobson notes that tailors, along with weavers and seamen, were among workers who 'worked out their strategies over a tankard of porter in their house of call'.[153] Farr remarks that the 'house of call was the focus of the conflict' in a strike by Birmingham's journeymen tailors in 1777.[154] In Bristol the journeymen also gained organisational strength through the house of call. Its associational atmosphere certainly lubricated the 1773 Bristol tailors' strike. Recriminations in the press between journeymen tailors over who had instigated this strike, clearly illustrate the role played by the house of call. One group of journeymen based at a public house in Tucker-street reported that a claim made by another group, that they had been 'the first Proposers of the late Scheme' to strike were mistaken. In fact the Tucker-street group claimed that 'we had no Hand in it till it was first proposed by them to us', referring to the other group based at a pub in St. James Church-Yard.[155] Although this evidence suggests that the journeymen were experiencing a backlash from masters, hence necessitating an apportioning of blame that the house of call was the organisational hub of the strike. The clear inference here was that discussions in the house of call could result in industrial action. While one house of call may have initiated discussion and then action, it would seem that groups of men based at other houses were then encouraged to take action, thereby creating greater unity. Of further significance is the fact that these houses of call were based in Tucker Street and St. James Church-Yard, both streets located within the 'artisan' parish of St. James. It would seem that, in 1773 at least, the organisation of the strike therefore grew out of those areas of the city in which tailors were most concentrated. 1773 was no isolated instance, for in 1790 organisation again appeared to be grouped around the public house. With the result that one hostile writer to the press called on the masters to get the city's magistrates to cancel the licenses 'of the Tap-houses frequented by your journeymen', a measure deemed necessary to defeat the strike.[156] In 1796 the hold of journeymen over the houses of call was reflected when the masters appeared to be just as keen on breaking the house of call network, as on establishing piece-rates, suggesting that they felt that to break this network was to break the organisation of the journeymen.[157] Thus, between 24th March and 30th

April 1796 the master tailors advertised that they had established a 'House of Call' exclusively 'for Men willing to work by the Piece' at the 'OLD GLOBE in Christmas-street (*sic*)', the masters being resolved never to call journeymen from the 'established Houses of Call'.[158] The masters had, in fact, attempted to break the journeymen's stranglehold over the houses of call in previous disputes. In 1773, for example, masters had called for men willing to break the strike to go to 'the Swan' public house in the parish of Christchurch, while in 1781 men were asked to meet at 'the Crown and Leek' in Small Street within the parish of St. Leonard.[159] The common denominator linking these houses is that they were based in the 'wealthy trading' parishes of central Bristol where few artisans resided. Christmas Street, the location of the house used by masters in 1796, was also in the non-artisan parish of St. John. Furthermore, when the master tailors held their collective meeting in April 1790, this was held at the 'Merchant Taylors Hall (*sic*)', which was situated in 'Broad-street' within the central parish of Christchurch.[160]

These developments are highly significant in spatial terms. They suggest that the organisational base of the masters was situated in the central parishes well away from where the majority of tailors lived, while the organisational centre for the journeymen was, by contrast, concentrated in the eastern district where the majority of them lived. This was replicated in the, albeit, more limited evidence from the shoemaking trade. Thus, in June 1777 the 'One Thousand Men' required to break the strike were asked to report to the 'Cordwainers-Hall' in Broad Street, in the central parish of Christchurch.[161] From the masters' perspective, the fact that organisational strength was centred in the 'wealthy trading' parishes reveals two things. Firstly, the masters may have felt that houses of call needed to be relocated from areas of high artisanal density, such as St. James, in order to make them less liable to domination by journeymen. Secondly, the masters may have felt that arrivals of new men would have attracted less opprobrium from striking journeymen if they were settled in areas away from large groups of such men. From the perspective of the journeymen, they perhaps preferred to be based nearer to where the majority of men resided, and in any case may not have desired to be close to central Bristol where the old guild premises, dominated by masters, were based.

While chapter 3 demonstrates that the use of a house of call was less evident among shoemakers, they, nevertheless, still held collective meetings. In 1792, for example, the master shoemakers referred to 'several MEETINGS of JOURNEYMEN BOOT and SHOE-MAKERS (*sic*)' having occurred, presumably to discuss tactics and distribute funds.[162] There is some evidence to suggest that journeymen shoemakers sought the

rejuvenating effect of outside meetings to discuss their strikes. In August 1777, for example, the Bristol journeymen mentioned that they would meet on 'Durdham-Down' in order to discuss their strike.[163] Meetings at less forgiving times of the year likely took place in public houses, as occurred among basket-makers and carpenters in Bristol.[164] John Brown mentioned partaking in 'a general strike' of the London shoemaking trade in which he 'attended meetings at the different public-houses' frequented by the trade.[165] While collective meetings clearly took place in the shoemaking trade, the exact locations of these are less clear than for the tailors.

Of central organisational importance was the need to make sure that sufficient funds existed to support a strike. Rule notes that 'journeymen dreaded a strike' and were unlikely to 'strike before a supportive fund had been built up', and London's shoemakers in 1792 posited that 'nothing short of a general fund can lay the foundation of a lasting union'.[166] As a journeyman shoemaker in London, John Brown joined a 'combination for the support of wages' in which members paid 'a certain amount monthly in order to raise a fund for the support of families when a strike takes place'.[167] Given that journeymen shoemakers in London were far more numerous than they were in Bristol, acquiring sufficient funds was not always either easy or necessarily enough in itself. In 1777, for instance, waning funds were clearly a factor in the Bristol shoemakers' strike that lasted from the middle of May to July. Thus, by early July 1777, when funds were 'almost exhausted', the journeymen stated that subscriptions would continue to be collected so that 'what we cannot effect now may be effected at a future Season'.[168] This problem arose despite the fact that the men were receiving funds from their counterparts in Bath. In mid-June the Bath 'Journeymen Cordwainers' had stated that they were determined 'to support (the Bristol men) to the very utmost of our power' by 'continuing our weekly contributions until they have gained their point'.[169] In 1792, the three appeals made jointly by boot-makers and ladies' men were the last of the nine insertions, perhaps indicating that funds were running low. Joint advertisements saved money; crucial as funds ran out especially given the fact that advertisements cost four shillings a time.[170] In 1792 the problem of funds was ameliorated by the support of other groups of workers, and both boot-makers and ladies' men acknowledged 'those societies of tradesmen of various denominations who have supported and still continue to support us with their liberal contributions'.[171] Evidence suggests that such cross-trade support was not unusual by this time. Brown, for example, mentioned a strike of London shoemakers in which 'hundreds of pounds' were 'borrowed from the farriers, carpenters, and other trades'.[172] Nevertheless, the nature of the support received by Bristol's shoemakers in 1792 appears to have been exceptional, occurring during a year in

which a strike-wave involving many trades affected the city. Pay claims during 1792 (table 5:2) encompassed twelve separate trades and involved 60 per cent of the skilled artisan

Table 5:2 : TRADES AFFECTED BY THE 1792 DISPUTES IN TERMS OF THE ENTIRE SKILLED ARTISAN SECTOR

Trade*	No. of Businesses	% of skilled trades	% of skilled trades affected by claims
Millwrights	3	0.45	0.45
Shipwrights	5	0.75	0.75
Tanners	6	0.90	-
Tobacco Pipe-makers	7	1.05	1.05
Basket-Makers	8	1.20	1.20
Brick-Makers	8	1.20	1.20
Turners	8	1.20	-
Plumbers	9	1.35	1.35
Farriers	11	1.65	1.65
Wheelwrights	11	1.65	-
Coopers	15	2.25	-
Curriers	16	2.40	-
Hatters	28	4.20	-
Hoopers	30	4.50	-
Tilers/Plasterers	30	4.50	4.50
Masons	37	5.55	-
Smiths	47	7.02	-
Shoemakers	64	9.60	9.60
Cabinet-Makers	66	9.90	-
Bakers	82	12.29	12.29
Tailors	82	12.29	12.29
Carpenters/Joiners	94	14.10	14.10
Total	**667**	**100%**	**60.4%**

* Trades are listed in order of numbers of businesses in each, starting with the smallest.
Source: *Matthews's Bristol Directory 1793-4* (Bristol, 1794).

trades. Support given to shoemakers from other groups of artisans, especially financial assistance, represents evidence that solidarity had begun to run horizontally across trades, rather than just vertically, as Poole claims.[173] The wide level of strike action undoubtedly acted as a domino effect; the encouragement given by other striking trades, accounts for the timing of this action. Thus, John Noble, then mayor of Bristol, wrote to the Home Secretary on 13 August 1792 and declared that 'many Journeymen' had 'compelled their Masters to raise their Wages'.[174] Captain George Monro, stationed in Bristol with his militia regiment, also wrote to the Home Secretary on 9 August 1792. Monro felt that the demands of the Kingswood colliers for higher pay had been 'encouraged' by 'the success of the shoemakers and other tradesmen' who had 'lately stood out for an increase of wages'.[175] 1792 was an exceptional year in which the sheer number of men taking action tipped the balance of relations in favour of the journeymen. In every other year the need for high levels of unity and organisation was more important.

On occasion, Bristol's journeymen tailors criticised the skills of the 'scab' labour that their masters had recruited to break strikes. This also formed part of the propaganda war waged

in the press. In April 1773, for example, the journeymen tailors informed the readership of Bristol's press that the 'Country Lads and Women' who were employed 'cannot be supposed capable' of giving 'Gentlemen the Satisfaction they usually met with in their Cloaths before this Contention'.[176] Opposition to female and unskilled labour clearly involved a defence of what historians have termed a 'property of skill'. The stance taken in 1773 undoubtedly reflected a position that looked to restrict 'entry to the trade' by keeping 'knowledge of skills and work practices' confined to 'those who had served apprenticeships' in order to prevent 'overstocking' of the labour market.[177] The fact that London's tailors were opposed to lesser skilled men on the basis that they 'were prepared to accept under-cutting piece rates' may provide further explanation for the opposition of Bristol men to this method of wages in 1796.[178] By the mid-1790s, consciousness of a 'property of skill' had become more pronounced as a result of developments brought about during the Napoleonic War. The influx of female labour into trades such as tailoring in particular had 'cut wage costs' and led to an increasing subdivision of labour.[179] Although journeymen tailors did not complain of unskilled or female labour in either 1777, 1781, or 1790, perhaps indicating that the journeymen had won a temporary victory in this respect, by the mid-1790s the impact of demands placed by the Napoleonic War were being felt in the Bristol trade. In August 1795, for example, Bristol's journeymen tailors objected to working on a contract to clothe the Northampton militia, based nearby, on the grounds that 'Men are wanted to work on the Cloaths as cheap as the Women work on them'.[180] The men further complained that a 'great Number' of women had been employed, providing a further reason why the men should have been so opposed to piece-rates in 1796.[181] This opposition to female labour would appear to support the notion that distinctions between skilled and unskilled work were primarily 'rooted in social and gender distinctions' in the late eighteenth century, as the men clearly resented the intrusion of cheap female labour into their trade in both 1773 and 1796.[182] However, the lack of concern over this issue in other disputes, compared to the ever-present reference to food prices, suggests that it was not a permanent cause of concern. Furthermore, notions of a 'property of skill' did not form part of the propaganda put forward by the shoemakers in their disputes. This was perhaps due to the fact that the system of piece-rates created grades of skill by its very nature because more experienced journeymen were able to make shoes of a good quality more quickly than could a complete novice. This does not, however, mean that Bristol's shoemakers were not proud of their skills. Thus, John Rees, in his treatise on the trade, felt that it was 'only by great attention and long experience that a proper degree of knowledge' in the trade was gained, while he advised young beginners that 'the work is your best credit under all circumstances'.[183] Overall it would appear that consciousness of a 'property of

skill' was an underlying part of the artisanal mind-set, yet was only openly expressed when the threat of cheap labour became an issue, as was the case with Bristol's journeymen tailors in 1773 and 1795. These developments only really gathered pace with the onset of war with France from 1793, and, because most of the Bristol disputes predated this period, most were devoid of concerns over unskilled and female labour. Between 1773 and 1796 more pressing concerns faced both the journeymen tailors and shoemakers during their disputes.

Critiquing the skills of 'scab' labour was a last resort, since the main tactic adopted by journeymen in this respect was to restrict the flow of labour into the city in the first place. This was a tried and trusted method of industrial action among tailors in the eighteenth century, being used, for example, by Bristol tailors in 1757 and by London tailors in 1744.[184] Such action was crucial, given that the masters placed adverts in newspapers across the country for labour to replace the striking men. Among the first priorities, therefore, was the need to warn fellow journeymen elsewhere of the nature of the situation. By placing insertions in newspapers, the journeymen were clearly using the channels of the 'public sphere' in an attempt to do more than merely tap the moral sensibilities of a middle-class reading public. Thus, in April 1773, for example, Bristol's journeymen tailors warned fellow journeymen to keep away, because there was 'no opening nor Encouragement for Strangers to come in'. An almost identical warning to this appeared in October 1777.[185] In 1781, Bristol's journeymen tailors again felt it was their 'Duty as Journeymen to inform every good Man' whether from the 'Town or Country' that there was a 'sufficient Complement of Men (*sic*)' in Bristol.[186] They hoped that 'every feeling Man will keep from this City' as 'their coming here must tend to the Hurt of many Men, their Wives and Children (*sic*)'.[187] In 1790, the journeymen made it clear that solidarity was expected while strike action was ongoing. Journeymen elsewhere were advised that to take up the masters' offer of work in Bristol would deprive 'many honest and industrious men and their families of acquiring a competence in life', aside from the 'disgrace they will bring upon themselves'.[188] In March 1796, journeymen tailors had devised a system for receiving men who arrived in Bristol unaware of the dispute. Such men were requested to report to the houses of call controlled by the striking men, those at Lewin's Mead and St. James's Back in the parish of St. James, and Broad-street in the parish of Christchurch.[189] This no doubt made it easy for leaders of the strike to make sure that new arrivals did not work for intransigent masters, since they could be supplied to masters who had agreed to the advance. Neither is the fact that two of the three houses were based in the 'artisan' parish of St. James a surprise. However, the fact that one was found in the

'wealthy trading parish' of Christchurch offers another perspective. The use of the Christchurch house can perhaps be explained by its proximity to the city centre where travellers arrived, and by the fact that it was closer to masters in the central and western areas. This probably gave striking journeymen a good opportunity to encourage men who had recently arrived to support their position, rather than being put to work by masters.

The need to restrict the numbers of men entering Bristol also faced Bristol's shoemakers. In June 1777, as a result, the shoemakers' union 'earnestly requested' that 'all Journeymen Cordwainers' should stay away from Bristol until the dispute had been settled.[190] In July 1792, Bristol's boot-makers and ladies' shoemakers hoped that 'no journeymen' would 'think of coming into town till things are settled in our favour'.[191] The Bristol men echoed the message given by Bath's journeymen shoemakers in March 1792 during their dispute, when the Bath men expressed their hope that 'no workmen will come to Bath for employ until the dispute between the Masters and Men is settled'.[192] While journeymen clearly looked to the solidarity of their brethren elsewhere, whether these requests were heeded is another matter. These warnings thus reflected the fact that recruitment of 'scab' labour could genuinely threaten the ability of journeymen to win the case. In August 1773, for example, the journeymen tailors attributed the refusal of the masters to meet their claim to the fact that they had 'a Sufficiency of Country Lads to whom they give from Six to Eight and Ten Shillings per Week'.[193] The latter pay rates suggest unskilled labour because these were rates significantly below the usual Bristol rate of twelve shillings. This tends to indicate that master tailors recruited extra labour not from among the skilled men of other urban centres, but from among rural pools of unskilled and female labour.[194] This was also evident in 1777 when the masters sought replacement labour, and in the context of the American War, advised 'Taylors in the Country (that they) need be under no Apprehensions from the Impress (*sic*)' in Bristol as it was 'for seamen only'.[195] In 1777, Bristol's journeymen shoemakers were clearly incensed by the levels of imported labour used by masters, as they lamented that the 'Conflict would not (have) been so sharp had not there been so many dirty Scabs'.[196] In the spring of 1796, furthermore, the tailors' campaign was seriously jeopardised, despite the best efforts of the journeymen, by the influx of labour into Bristol. According to the journeymen themselves the fact that the masters had advertised for labour in the Bristol, Bath, and Gloucester newspapers, led to a situation in which 'there are more than twice the number of men already here than can possibly find employ'.[197] The fact that the labour market was so overstocked meant that the houses of call in St. James and Christchurch acted as reception centres until the men found work elsewhere. Thus, the journeymen placed an advert that advised 'COUNTRY

MASTERS' that 'they may be well supplied with good Workmen' by applying to their houses of call.[198] The men were, therefore, looking to return some of the surplus labour back from whence it came, in order to control the labour supply in their favour.

These actions clearly indicate that journeymen were aware that control over working conditions and wage levels 'derived from access to and control of the labor market'.[199] On this basis, historians have argued that tramping performed a key role in disputes by allowing 'large numbers of journeymen to leave town and to settle elsewhere temporarily to force concessions' from their employers.[200] The tramping network could therefore play a seemingly invaluable role in disputes, especially when one considers the limited funds available to journeymen. This network allowed unions to remove 'single men from the fund' with the result that the money collected was mainly used to subsidise less mobile men including those with 'large families to provide for'.[201] It may be concluded, therefore, that men with families tended to stay behind while single journeymen left temporarily to find work elsewhere. However, the Bristol disputes yielded little evidence of the use of tramping networks. Indeed the only dispute to yield any details was that conducted by Bristol's shoemakers in May 1792. Thus, the ladies' shoemakers revealed that 'a Number' of their men had 'already quitted this City in order to seek employ' in places where 'more than the wages now solicited are given', thereby reducing the labour force in their favour.[202] The confidence that these men invested in the tramping system is pervasive in their claim that rather than yield to the masters they 'will leave the city to a man'.[203] That tramping was not utilised as a tactic by shoemakers until the 1790s surely lies in the fact that while tramping links between London and Bristol shoemakers stretched back to the late fourteenth century, nevertheless an 'extensive network for tramping' among shoemakers was only established in 1784.[204]

With regards to the tailors the absence of tramping during disputes seems surprising, given the importance of the 'house of call' to their organising strategy, and the weight of historical opinion. However, examples of the use of tramping as a strike weapon arise largely from London where many men were employed, and may not have been so appropriate to a city like Bristol employing smaller numbers. While London's journeymen tailors found it appropriate during their 'general strike' of 1764 to 'send 6,000 journeymen tailors out of town', it may have been deemed less useful to a dispute involving just two hundred men in Bristol.[205] Indeed the main problem throughout the period, in both trades, was the difficulties involved in stemming an inflow of labour rather than organising an exodus. The ability to leave town and choke the labour supply, thereby bringing the

masters to their knees, therefore depended on the masters *not being able to find an alternative workforce*. Perhaps the relatively small size of the workforce, compared to London, meant that Bristol journeymen did not have this luxury since the masters *were able* to find other workers. This was particularly so with regards to the tailors, since there was a massive difference between those London masters who were faced with a shortfall of 6,000 men in 1764, and the Bristol masters who had to find 250 men in 1796. Such factors dictated that preventing men arriving rather than sending the existing workforce away was the main consideration, since the two tactics were mutually exclusive.

Conclusion

While the methods and tactics that Bristol's journeymen shoemakers and tailors employed in pursuit of their pay claims were multifaceted, they can perhaps be broken down into two types. Many of the appeals to the public had a 'defensive' quality as the journeymen, and especially the shoemakers, skilfully wove the worsening material position of their lives into a morally charged 'rhetoric of need'. This must be seen as a deliberate and perfectly understandable tactic in light of 'public' concern in the newspaper press over high prices. Attacks on profit levels and arguments for a fair wage also tapped into this concern, as notable contemporaries such as Adam Smith were aware of falling real wages. However, while this contextualises the rhetoric deployed, it cannot explain why journeymen struck exactly when they did nor the 'proactive' aspects of their action. The shoemakers were inspired to action in 1777 and 1792 by favourable trade circumstances due to war demands in the former year, and by the support and encouragement of journeymen in other trades during the exceptionally strike-prone year of the former. In the case of the tailors the earlier disputes can be attributed to a mixture of high war demand though more importantly to the changes in seasonal rates, while in 1796 the dispute can be wholly attributed to the introduction of piece rates. Away from the 'public' eye the journeymen undoubtedly had a strong level of organisation and methods of funding disputes, particularly since the battle to prevent 'scab' labour from entering Bristol was a crucial one. It would appear that the use of tramping as a strike weapon was less prevalent among Bristol's journeymen than previous historical studies suggest. This was probably due to the fact that the biggest threat to the objectives of the journeymen arose from the inflow of scab-labour. There was little use in sending men away, ostensibly to stifle the supply of labour, if masters had no problem recruiting labour from elsewhere. Indeed, in such circumstances tramping played into the hands of the masters, who were able to replace an intransigent workforce with a potentially more compliant one. The almost non-existent rise in tailors' wages during this period, despite the number of strikes, suggests that journeymen were rarely able to control

the labour supply in their favour after the manner of the more powerful London unions. This may further explain why journeymen invested so much time, money, and effort in awarding the 'public' the role of a mediating force, implying that journeymen felt their organisational leverage was not enough on its own.

ENDNOTES

[1] *Bristol Journal* (hereafter BJ), 10/4/1773, 1/5/1773.
[2] *Felix Farley's Bristol Journal* (hereafter FFBJ), 11/10/1777.
[3] *Sarah Farley's Bristol Journal* (hereafter SFBJ), 31/3/1781, 7/4/1781.
[4] SFBJ 24/4/1790.
[5] *Bristol Gazette* (hereafter Bgaz), 24/3/1796.
[6] SFBJ 7/6/1777; Bgaz 12/6/1777; SFBJ 21/6/1777.
[7] *Bonner and Middleton's Bristol Journal* (hereafter BMBJ), 5/5/1792.
[8] *Bristol Mercury* (hereafter Bmerc), 16/7/1792. The length of this dispute was not unusual as Brown talked of a dispute among London's shoemakers that lasted for 'at least ten weeks'. See J. Brown, *Sixty Years' Gleanings from Life's Harvest* (Cambridge, 1858), pp. 43-44.
[9] J. Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* (Cambridge, Mass., 1989; trans. by T. Burger, originally published 1962.), p. 16.
[10] *Ibid.*, p. 16, 2-3, 26.
[11] This list represents just some of the growing number of works concerning the 'public sphere'. J. Siltanen and M. Stanworth, *Women and the Public Sphere* (London, 1984).; R. Chartier, *The Cultural Origins of the French Revolution* (London, 1991), pp. 20-37.; A. La Vopa, 'Conceiving a Public: Ideas and Society in Eighteenth-Century Europe', *Journal of Modern History* 64 (1992), pp. 69-90.; W. Reddy, 'Postmodernism and the Public Sphere: Implications for an Historical Ethnography', *Cultural Anthropology* 7 (1992), pp. 135-169.; M. C. Jacob, 'The Mental Landscape of the Public Sphere: A European Perspective', *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 28 (1994), pp. 95-113.; A. Clark, 'Contested Space: The Public and Private Spheres in Nineteenth-Century Britain', *Journal of British Studies* 35 (1996), pp. 269-276.; C. Jones, 'The Great Chain of Buying: Medical Advertisement, the Bourgeois Public Sphere, and the Origins of the French Revolution', *American Historical Review* 101 (1996), pp. 13-40.; J. Rendall, 'Women and the Public Sphere', *Gender and History* 11 (1999), pp. 475-489.; H. Mah, 'Phantasies of the Public Sphere: Rethinking the Habermas of Historians', *The Journal of Modern History* 72 (2000), pp. 153-182.
[12] Habermas, *Public Sphere*, p. 16.
[13] C. Calhoun, C., (ed.), *Habermas and the Public Sphere* (Cambridge, Mass., 1992), p. 36.
[14] *Ibid*, p. 37.
[15] *Ibid.*, p. 38.
[16] G. Eley, 'Edward Thompson, Social History and Political Culture: The Making of a Working-Class Public, 1780-1850' in H. J. Kaye and K. McClelland, (eds), *E. P. Thompson: Critical Perspectives* (Oxford, 1990), p. 14, 36.
[17] G. A. Cranfield, *The Development of the Provincial Newspaper, 1700-1760* (Oxford, 1962), p. v (preface), 13.
[18] J. Burnett, *A History of the Cost of Living* (London, 1969; 1993 Reprint), p. 156.
[19] This information was gleaned from the masthead of the *Bristol Mercury* in several issues for 1792. Other papers also had a similarly wide network of distribution.
[20] Cranfield, *Development of the Provincial Newspaper*, p. 97.
[21] J. Rule, 'Industrial Disputes, Wage Bargaining and the Moral Economy' in A. Randall and A. Charlesworth (eds), *Moral Economy and Popular Protest: Crowds, Conflict and Authority* (Basingstoke, 2000), pp. 171-176.
[22] The masthead of all Bristol's newspapers carried this information, with the same price. It is not known whether a cheaper rate was offered for insertions that were printed week after week.
[23] BJ 10/4/1773; FFBJ 11/10/1777.
[24] BMBJ 1/5/1790.
[25] FFBJ 19/3/1796.
[26] BMBJ 17/5/1777; SFBJ 28/6/1777.
[27] BMBJ 12/5/1792 (for both insertions).
[28] In 1756 the London tailors had used advertising space in order to address 'the Nobility' and 'Gentry' over their wage claim, claiming that their actions arose from 'no other Motive but the Public Good'. (See C. R. Dobson, *Masters and Journeymen: A Prehistory of Industrial Relations 1717-1800* (London, 1980), p. 67.) In 1792 Bath shoemakers, during their dispute, stated that they 'respectfully beg leave to lay their case before the Nobility, Gentry, and Publick in general'. (See *Bath Chronicle*, 29/3/1792.)
[29] Dobson, *Masters and Journeymen*, p. 30.
[30] S. Poole, 'Popular Politics in Bristol, Somerset and Wiltshire, 1791-1805', Ph.D. thesis, University of Bristol, 1993, p. 373.
[31] A. Clark, *The Struggle for the Breeches: Gender and the Making of the British Working Class* (London, 1995), p. 27.
[32] *Ibid.*, p. 66, 27.
[33] Bgaz, 8/4, 15/4, 29/4, 6/5, 13/5, 20/5, 27/5, 3/6, 10/6, 17/6, 24/6, 1/7, 8/7, 15/7/1773; BJ 10/4, 17/4, 24/4, 1/5, 8/5, 15/5, 22/5, 29/5, 5/6, 12/6, 19/6, 26/6, 3/7, 10/71773; FFBJ 10/4, 17/4, 24/4, 1/5, 8/5, 15/5, 22/5, 29/5, 5/6, 12/6, 19/6, 26/6, 3/7, 10/7/1773.

[34] SFBJ 11/10/1777; SFBJ 31/3, 7/4, 14/4, 21/4, 5/5/1781. FFBJ 31/3, 7/4, 14/4, 21/4, 28/4, 5/5/1781. BMBJ 31/3, 7/4, 14/4, 21/4, 28/4, 5/5/1781.
[35] Bgaz 8/4/1790.
[36] Bgaz 17/3/1796.
[37] FFBJ 17/4, 24/4, 1/5, 8/5, 15/5, 22/5/1790; SFBJ 17/4, 24/4, 1/5, 8/5, 15/5, 22/5/1790; BMBJ 17/4, 24/4, 1/5, 8/5, 15/5, 22/5/1790; Bmerc 19/4, 26/4, 3/5, 10/5, 17/5, 24/5/1790; Bgaz 22/4, 29/4, 6/5, 13/5, 20/5, 27/5/1790; Bgaz 24/3, 31/3, 7/4, 14/4, 21/4, 28/4, 5/5, 12/5/1796; SFBJ 26/3, 2/4, 9/4, 23/4, 30/4, 7/5, 14/5/1796; FFBJ 2/4, 9/4, 16/4, 23/4, 30/4, 7/5/1796; BMBJ 2/4, 9/4, 16/4, 23/4, 30/4, 7/5/1796.
[38] Bgaz 12/6, 19/6/1777; SFBJ 14/6/1777; FFBJ 14/6/1777; BMBJ 14/6/1777. In London it was also not unknown to bring in so many men at once. Thus during the London tailors' strike of 1764 the masters had 'brought in more than 1,000 hands from outside London' in 'just six weeks'. See J. Rule, *The Experience of Labour in Eighteenth-Century Industry* (London, 1981), p. 155, and Dobson, *Masters and Journeymen*, p. 45.
[39] FFBJ 5/5, 12/5, 19/5, 26/5, 2/6, 9/6, 16/6, 23/6/1792; Bgaz 10/5, 17/5, 24/5, 31/5, 7/6, 14/6, 21/6, 28/6/1792; SFBJ 5/5, 12/5, 19/5, 26/5, 2/6, 9/6, 16/6, 23/6/1792; Bmerc 7/5, 14/5, 21/5, 28/5, 4/6, 11/6, 18/6, 25/6/1792.
[40] SFBJ 17/5/1777, FFBJ 17/5/1777, BMBJ 17/5/1777, Bgaz 22/5/1777.
[41] FFBJ 5/5, 12/5, 19/5, 26/5, 2/6/1792; Bgaz 10/5, 17/5, 24/5, 31/5, 7/6/1792; SFBJ 5/5, 12/5, 19/5, 26/5, 2/6/1792; Bmerc 7/5, 14/5, 21/5, 28/5, 4/6/1792.
[42] Bgaz 31/3/1796; FFBJ 2/4/1796; SFBJ 2/4/1796; BMBJ 2/4/1796 (for 11 names); Bgaz 7/4, 14/4, 21/4, 28/4, 5/5, 12/5/1796; FFBJ 9/4, 16/4, 23/4, 30/4, 7/5/1796; SFBJ 9/4, 23/4, 30/4, 7/5, 14/5/1796; BMBJ 9/4, 16/4, 23/4, 30/4, 7/5/1796 (for 42 names).
[43] BJ 10/4/1773; FFBJ 11/10/1777.
[44] BMBJ 17/4/1790.
[45] BMBJ 12/5/1792.
[46] Bgaz 24/3, 31/3/1796.
[47] SFBJ 17/5/1777; FFBJ 17/5/1777; BMBJ 17/5/1777; Bgaz 22/5/1777; SFBJ 21/6/1777.
[48] SFBJ 21/6/1777.
[49] FFBJ 5/5/1792.
[50] J. Hatcher, 'Labour, Leisure and Economic Thought Before the Nineteenth Century', *Past and Present*, 160, 1998, p. 69.
[51] *Ibid.*
[52] *Ibid.*, p. 70.
[53] *Ibid.*, p. 71.
[54] Rule, *Experience of Labour*, pp. 53-54.
[55] Hatcher, 'Economic Thought before the Nineteenth Century', p. 98.
[56] J. Rule, *Experience of Labour*, p. 151.
[57] A. Smith, *The Wealth of Nations, Books I-III* (1776; 1970 edn.), p. 170.
[58] *Ibid.*
[59] BJ 14/8/1773.
[60] FFBJ 11/10/1777.
[61] BMBJ 1/5/1790; FFBJ 19/3/1796, 26/3/1796.
[62] BMBJ 17/5/1777; BMBJ 14/6/1777.
[63] BMBJ 12/5/1792. For both insertions.
[64] Bgaz 21/6/1792.
[65] Bgaz 24/3/1796.
[66] In 1792 Bath's journeymen shoemakers complained that masters had refused to allow 'such moderate wages as the present prices of every article of life absolutely claim'. (*Bath Journal*, 12/3/1792). In April 1772 London's journeymen tailors petitioned magistrates for higher wages 'on account of the dearness of provisions'. (*Annual Register*, Vol. 15, 27/4/1772, p. 95.) In 1800 London's journeymen tailors again addressed their masters on the basis of 'the excessive price of every necessary article of life' in their need for higher wages. (Dobson, *Masters and Journeymen*, p. 149.)
[67] BMBJ11/5/1776, Bgaz13/6/1799. There were numerous other examples. In 1777 Bristol's journeymen cabinet-makers complained that low wages 'denies at the present advanced Price of Provisions the Necessaries of Life to the Workmen'. (SFBJ30/8/1777). In 1791 the carpenters again found that 'in consequence of the very high price of provisions and all the necessaries of life' that the 'present wages (are) totally inadequate to the support of themselves and their families'.(FFBJ16/4/1791) In 1792 the journeymen millwrights cited the 'extreme dearness of provisions' and 'house rent' during their claim for higher wages, while the tilers and plasterers asserted that the 'exorbitant price of house rent and dearness of provisions' warranted their seeking a wage rise. (BMBJ 4/2/1792; Bmerc, 27/2/1792)
[68] D. Davies, *The Case of Labourers in Husbandry Stated and Considered: with an Appendix containing a collection of accounts showing the earnings and expenses of labouring families in different parts of the kingdom* (Bath, 1795; 1977 reprint), p. 6.
[69] *Bath Herald*, 18/8/1792.
[70] Smith, *Wealth of Nations*, p. 177.

[71] *Ibid.*
[72] See Chapter 4 for an index of real wages for Bristol's journeymen tailors between 1773 and 1796.
[73] R. A. E. Wells, *Insurrection: The British Experience, 1795-1803* (Gloucester, 1986), p. 48.
[74] M. Chase, *Early Trade Unionism: Fraternity, Skill and the Politics of Labour* (Aldershot, 2000), p. 77.
[75] J. Rule, 'Trade Unions, The Government and the French Revolution, 1789-1802' in J. Rule and R. Malcolmson (eds), *Protest and Survival, The Historical Experience: Essays for E. P. Thompson* (London, 1993), p. 123.
[76] Dobson, *Masters and Journeymen*, pp. 28-29.
[77] Thus E.P. Thompson developed his theory of the 'moral economy' pertaining to disorders over food prices and scarcity in eighteenth-century England. Thompson felt that during food riots crowds were driven by a consensus over what constituted legitimate practice in the marketing, milling, and baking of bread. See E. P. Thompson, 'The Moral Economy of the English Crowd in the Eighteenth Century', *Past and Present*, 50 (1971), republished in his *Customs in Common* (Penguin, 1991), pp. 185-259.
[78] Chase, *Early Trade Unionism*, pp. 54-55; Clark, *Struggle for the Breeches*, p. 120.
[79] J. Rule, (ed.), *British Trade Unionism 1750-1850* (London, 1988), p. 8.
[80] C. Lis and H. Soly, '"An Irresistible Phalanx": Journeymen Associations in Western Europe, 1300-1800' in C. Lis, J. Lucassen, and H. Soly, (eds), 'Before the Unions: Wage earners and collective action in Europe, 1300-1850', *International Review of Social History*, 39, supplement no. 2, 1994, p. 15.
[81] A. Randall, 'The Industrial Moral Economy of the Gloucestershire Weavers in the Eighteenth Century' in J. Rule, (ed.), *British Trade Unionism 1750-1850* (London, 1988), p. 47.
[82] SFBJ 2/4/1796.
[83] SFBJ 28/6/1777.
[84] Smith, *Wealth of Nations*, p. 170.
[85] BJ 1/5/1773; BJ 14/8/1773.
[86] BMBJ 1/5/1790.
[87] BMBJ 12/5/1792. In 1792, for example, Bath journeymen were adamant that the 'profits of the masters' are 'such as would justify them in a demand for much higher wages than they have asked'. The journeymen even threatened to 'publish a list of the prices of the leather, of their own labour, and the Masters charges', though this seemingly never materialised. (*Bath Journal*, 12/3/1792) The journeymen later claimed that Bath masters charged 'as high prices as are paid in any part of Europe, when they refuse to pay their workmen wages much inferior to what is given in every principal trading town in England'. (*Bath Chronicle*, 29/3/1792).
[88] BMBJ 5/5, 12/5/1792.
[89] BMBJ 2/6/1792.
[90] C. Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays* (New York, 1973; 1993 edn.), p. 9, 6.
[91] J. Swann, *Shoemaking* (Princes Risborough, Bucks., 1986) pp. 8-9.
[92] Bmerc 9/7, 16/7/1792.
[93] Bgaz 24/3/1796.
[94] R. Malcolmson, 'Workers' Combinations in Eighteenth-Century England' in M. and J. Jacob (eds), *The Origins of Anglo-American Radicalism* (London, 1984), p. 150.
[95] Rule, 'Wage Bargaining and the Moral Economy', p. 184.
[96] *Ibid.*, p. 183.
[97] Rule, *Experience of Labour*, pp. 177-178.
[98] *Ibid.*, p. 153.
[99] J. F. Rees, *The Art and Mystery of a Cordwainer; or an Essay on the Principles and Practice of Boot and Shoe-Making* (London, 1813), p. 83.
[100] BMBJ 14/6/1777. William Till-Adams, Joseph Short, John Smith, John Squier, George Millett, and John Isaac were originally opposed on 17th May. See SFBJ 17/5/1777.
[101] BMBJ 10/5/1777.
[102] FFBJ 21/4/1781.
[103] SFBJ 26/3/1796.
[104] BMBJ 2/4/1796.
[105] J. R. Farr, *Artisans in Europe, 1300-1914* (Cambridge, 2000), p. 214; Dobson, *Masters and Journeymen*, p. 61, 69.
[106] Dobson, *Masters and Journeymen*, p. 136.
[107] SFBJ 17/5/1777; FFBJ 5/5/1792.
[108] SFBJ 28/6/1777.
[109] BMBJ 12/5/1792.
[110] Bgaz 21/6/1792; BMBJ 7/7/1792.
[111] Poole, 'Popular Politics', pp. 364-365. This was a tactic used by shoemakers in other towns. The journeymen shoemakers of Newcastle, for example, advertised a list of twenty-two masters in their local press of those masters that 'have given the advanced Prices'. See *Newcastle Advertiser*, 4/8/1792, 15/9/1792.
[112] J. Hoppit, *Risk and Failure in English Business, 1700-1800* (Cambridge, 1987), p. 122.
[113] BMBJ 14/6/1777.

[114] BMBJ 14/6/1777, SFBJ 21/6/1777.
[115] Rule, *Experience of Labour*, p. 178.
[116] Dobson, *Masters and Journeymen*, p. 68.
[117] BJ 1/5/1773.
[118] FFBJ 11/10/1777. The journeymen wanted them reduced from 14 shillings to 13 shillings, while the masters offered 12 shillings.
[119] BJ 10/4/1773, 29/5/1773.
[120] SFBJ 31/3/1781; FFBJ 7/4/1781; FFBJ 17/4/1790.
[121] Rule, *Experience of Labour*, p. 178.
[122] BMBJ 17/5/1777.
[123] Rees, *Art and Mystery*, p. 84.
[124] Bgaz 24/3/1796, 6/5/1790.
[125] Bgaz 24/3/1796.
[126] Bgaz 24/3/1796.
[127] Bgaz 31/3/1796, 7/4/1796.
[128] FFBJ 25/4/1795.
[129] Rule, *Experience of Labour*, p. 156.; Farr, *Artisans in Europe*, p. 214.
[130] Bgaz 24/3/1796.
[131] SFBJ 26/3/1796.
[132] SFBJ 26/3/1796.
[133] Bgaz 31/3/1796.
[134] Poole, 'Popular Politics', p. 356.
[135] BMBJ 14/6/1777; SFBJ 28/6/1777.
[136] SFBJ 28/6/1777.
[137] Brown, *Sixty Years' Gleanings*, pp. 42-43.
[138] BMBJ 24/5/1777.
[139] Bgaz 10/7/1777.
[140] SFBJ 17/5/1777.
[141] Bgaz 3/5/1792, BMBJ 5/5, 12/5, 2/6, 9/6/1792, Bgaz 21/6/1792, Bmerc 9/7, 16/7/1792.
[142] BMBJ 12/5/1792.
[143] BMBJ 12/5/1792.
[144] Smith, *Wealth of Nations*, p. 169.
[145] *Ibid.*
[146] Bgaz 6/5/1790.
[147] SFBJ 24/4/1790.
[148] Thus in May 1757 the Bristol journeymen bargained for an extra shilling per week, while in May 1762 the journeymen in common with their Bath counterparts agitated to 'labour fewer Hours in each day'. See *Bath Journal*, 30/5/1757 (for Bristol dispute), FFBJ 1/5/1762 (for Bristol dispute), FFBJ 22/5/1762 (for Bath dispute). While in October 1763 Bristol's journeymen tailors refused the masters' rates of 'Eleven Shillings per Week for the Winter Season'. (See FFBJ 15/10/1763).
[149] FFBJ 18/8/1792.
[150] F. W. Galton (ed.), *Select Documents Illustrating the History of Trade Unionism: The Tailoring Trade* (London, 1896), pp. 20-21.; Rule, *Experience of Labour*, p. 153, 155.
[151] Lis and Soly, '"An Irresistible Phalanx"', p. 45.; Dobson, *Masters and Journeymen*, p. 60.
[152] S. and B. Webb, *The History of Trade Unionism 1666-1920* (London, 1894, 1920 edn.), p. 23; J. Rule, *The Labouring Classes in Early Industrial England 1750-1850* (London, 1986), p. 256.
[153] Dobson, *Masters and Journeymen*, p. 25.
[154] Farr, *Artisans in Europe*, p. 214.
[155] BJ 6/11/1773.
[156] SFBJ 24/4/1790.
[157] FFBJ 30/4/1796.
[158] Bgaz 24/3/1796; Bgaz 7/4/1796; FFBJ 30/4/1796.
[159] Bgaz 8/4/1773; BMBJ 7/4/1781.
[160] Bgaz 8/4/1790.
[161] Bgaz 12/6/1777.
[162] FFBJ 5/5/1792.
[163] BMBJ 2/8/1777.
[164] In February 1792, for example, the journeymen basket-makers concluded their demands 'at the house known by the sign of the NEPTUNE in Temple-street', while the carpenters attended a meeting 'at the sign of the Cross Keys on the Back'. FFBJ 11/2/1792; BMBJ 25/2/1792.
[165] Brown, *Sixty Years' Gleanings*, pp. 43-44.
[166] Rule, *Experience of Labour*, pp. 179-180.
[167] Brown, *Sixty Years' Gleanings*, p. 42.
[168] BMBJ 5/7/1777; Bgaz 10/7/1777.

[169] *Bath Chronicle*, 19/6/1777.
[170] The mastheads of the Bristol newspapers carried this information.
[171] Bmerc 9/7, 16/7/1792.
[172] Brown, *Sixty Years' Gleanings*, pp. 43-44.
[173] Poole, 'Popular Politics', p. 364.
[174] Bristol Corporation Letter Book 1792 (05158), Bristol Record Office, pp. 22-23.
[175] A. Aspinall, (ed.), *The Early English Trade Unions: Documents from the Home Office Papers in the Public Record Office* (London, 1949), pp. 6-7.
[176] BJ 17/4/1773.; BJ 14/8/1773.
[177] J. Rule, 'The Property of Skill in the Period of Manufacture' in P. Joyce, (ed.), *The Historical Meanings of Work* (Cambridge, 1987), p. 101. It is well known that London's journeymen tailors in this period fixed their own output levels in order to exclude 'inferior craftsmen from the better shops'. See Rule, 'Property of Skill', pp. 109-110. An Essex tailor put to work in London in 1810 found that 'it required my utmost efforts to get through the allotted amount of day's work within the appointed time', being 'too much for anyone but a clever and very quick hand', as 'it was fixed by the workmen themselves'. See Chase, *Early Trade Unionism*, p. 88. The origins of London journeymen tailors being 'granted control over labor placement' dated as far back as 1458. See Farr, *Artisans in Europe*, p. 205.; R. A. Leeson, *Travelling Brothers: The Six Centuries' Road from Craft Fellowship to Trade Unionism* (London, 1979), p. 45.
[178] Rule, 'Property of Skill', p. 112; Rule, *Experience of Labour*, p. 36.
[179] Clark, *Struggle for the Breeches*, pp. 119-121, 122, 123.
[180] SFBJ 15/8/1795.
[181] SFBJ 15/8/1795.
[182] Rule, 'Property of Skill', pp. 108-109; Chase, *Early Trade Unionism*, p. 26.
[183] Rees, *Art and Mystery*, p. iv (preface), p. 135, 82.
[184] In 1757 Bristol's journeymen tailors placed an insertion in the Bath press, warning other tailors that 'there is no Want of Men in this City' and that by coming to Bristol they would 'greatly injure those who are here already'. (*Bath Journal*, 30/5/1757). In 1744 London's journeymen tailors also used this method; during a dispute they warned 'country tailors' that it would be best 'to stay out of London until the matter is settled'. (Dobson, *Masters and Journeymen*, p. 63.)
[185] BJ 10/4/1773; FFBJ 11/10/1777.
[186] SFBJ 7/4/1781.
[187] SFBJ 7/4/1781.
[188] FFBJ 8/5/1790.
[189] SFBJ 26/3/1796.
[190] BMBJ 14/6/1777, 5/7/1777.
[191] Bmerc 16/7/1792.
[192] *Bath Chronicle*, 29/3/1792.
[193] BJ 14/8/1773.
[194] In 1764 magistrates allowed London's tailors a wage of 2s 7½d per day, which on a 6-day week amounted to 15s 9d. See *Annual Register*, 18/1/1764, Vol. 7 (London, 1778), p. 47. In 1772 magistrates allowed an extra six pence per day, which over a 6-day week, represented an increase of 3 shillings per week, bringing wages to 18s 9d per week. *Annual Register*, Vol. 15, 27/4/1772, p. 95.
[195] SFBJ 11/10/1777.
[196] BMBJ 5/7/1777.
[197] SFBJ 26/3/1796; FFBJ 30/4/1796.
[198] FFBJ 30/4/1796.
[199] Farr, *Artisans in Europe*, pp. 202-203.
[200] Leeson, *Travelling Brothers*, p. 17.; Lis and Soly, '"An Irresistible Phalanx"', p. 31.
[201] Rule, *Experience of Labour*, p. 181; BMBJ 12/5/1792. John Brown, the London journeymen shoemaker, explained how the system operated during a strike in his trade in the very early nineteenth century. While Brown and his fellow journeymen were 'furnished with tramping money to enable them to go into the country until the dispute' was settled, it was 'nearly all the single men' who actually 'packed up their kits and went on (the) tramp' since 'they were not allowed any relief'. See Brown, *Sixty Years' Gleanings*, pp. 42-43.
[202] BMBJ 12/5/1792, 2/6/1792.
[203] BMBJ 7/7/1792; Bmerc 9/7/1792, 16/7/1792.
[204] Leeson, *Travelling Brothers*, p. 35.; Chase, *Early Trade Unionism*, p. 62.
[205] Farr, *Artisans in Europe*, p. 214. The practical effect of this was that these 6,000 men had 'dispersed' in an effort to 'turn the chase against winter upon the masters by offering their services to every Nobleman and Gentleman' they came across 'in the country'. J. Lindsay, *1764: The Hurlyburly of Daily Life Exemplified in One Year of the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1959), p. 246.

Chapter 6: Before the French Revolution: Artisans and Electoral Politics in Bristol, 1774-1784

This chapter has several main aims. Firstly, it assesses the extent to which Bristol's electoral politics were polarised by war with the American colonies between 1775 and 1783. The fact that Tory candidates in the Bristol elections of 1774, 1781 and 1784 supported British military action in America, while Whig candidates opposed it, makes it possible to compare support for these candidates, and thus for the war itself, within the electorate and among Bristol's shoemakers and tailors. Secondly the chapter assesses the extent to which these two trades had distinctive voting patterns. The two trades will be categorised into Bristol-based voters and out-voters, a division existing within the poll books themselves, in order to gauge differences in voting patterns. Within Bristol itself, the voting patterns of masters and journeymen are compared; cross-referencing of trade directories and poll books allows tradesmen appearing in both sources to be separated into a separate sample of employers. Thirdly, the chapter assesses whether artisanal voting patterns were shaped by social milieu. The study therefore examines whether shoemakers and tailors residing in areas where a social elite predominated voted differently from those in areas with high concentrations of artisans. Finally, the study isolates a sample of voters among both trades who were experienced voters in order to monitor the extent to which voting behaviour changed between elections.

Late eighteenth-century Bristol represented a prime example of a wide freeman franchise, with between 5,000 and 6,000 voters. This was a relatively large electorate and one only surpassed in actual size by London and Westminster.[1] As a result, a larger proportion of Bristol's male population possessed the vote than the national average: around 10 per cent of Bristol's population of approximately 60,000 people in this period (females included) were voters whereas nationally 'no more than 10-12 per cent of adult males had the vote'.[2] Furthermore, according to one extensive socio-economic study of Bristol in the 1770s 'artisans' formed around 60 per cent of this electorate during the 1774 election.[3] Artisanal representation was high because many journeymen and masters qualified to vote on the basis of their status as freemen. This was awarded to all those who had completed an apprenticeship in Bristol.[4] This situation was, however, not that uncommon during this period. Artisans made up between 61 and 65 per cent of the electorates in Norwich, Maidstone and Northampton between 1761 and 1802, and 67 per cent of the Liverpool electorate between 1780 and 1802.[5] According to Leeson, Bristol was one of a number of centres such as Sheffield, Leicester, and Nottingham where electoral rights made artisans a 'formidable' force.[6]

The strong presence of artisans among the Bristol electorate lends itself to a revision of historical understanding of the role played by artisans in eighteenth-century politics. Previous studies have tended to concentrate on the extra-parliamentary role played by artisans in various radical movements from the Wilkite movement for parliamentary reform in the late 1760s and early 1770s, to support for the egalitarian ideals of the French Revolution.[7] Studies that have focused on electoral politics have highlighted the role that disenfranchised workers played in election crowds, and this has been characterised as the 'politics of the excluded'.[8] Mark Harrison, for example, argued that crowds at Bristol's election hustings in the late eighteenth century consisted predominantly 'of the unenfranchised' masses.[9] Likewise Rogers claims that a generic style of 'crowd action' was 'located within a theatre of politics' that encompassed behaviour at election hustings, the witnessing of punishments, and the proclamation of 'royal edicts'.[10] By contrast, artisans who *actually* possessed the vote have received little attention. The high numbers of artisans within the electorate suggests that neither artisanal extra-parliamentary radical activity nor their involvement in crowds, were their only methods of political participation. A focus therefore on electoral activity promises to significantly broaden our understanding of artisanal politics. In addition, in the Bristol case, it can also be used to quantify support for the radical-influenced opposition to the American War. This is especially important with regards to the shoemakers who have been portrayed by Hobsbawm as the 'ideologists of the common people', or, in other words, as a group which commonly embraced radical politics.[11] The election results of 1774, 1781, and 1784 allow an assessment of support for candidates influenced by radical politics. If the Hobsbawm hypothesis has any resonance, one would expect Bristol's shoemakers to show a greater inclination than other groups to vote for radically inclined candidates.

Bristol, Radical Politics and the American War

The fact that three parliamentary elections occurred in close proximity to the time of the American War (1775-83) suggests that this conflict had an important impact on Bristol's politics. The outbreak of war in 1775 between Britain and the American colonies badly disrupted Bristol's trade, putting a stop to Bristol exports to America of everything from serges to tobacco-pipes, and causing general distress, with the result that 'poor rates increased about 150 per cent' during 1775.[12] It is therefore important to assess the wider issues that influenced Bristol elections in this period. Table 6:1 displays the election results for each election, plus the 1780 result for which no poll book survives. It also displays the party allegiance of the candidates, an important marker for attitudes to the American War.

It was true in Bristol, if not nationally, that Whig candidates were unanimously opposed to the War while Tories supported the military action.[13]

Table 6:1 : Votes for Candidates in Bristol Parliamentary Elections, 1774-1784

Candidate/Party	1774 Election	1780 Election	1781 by-election	1784 Election
Cruger/Whig	3, 565	1, 271	2, 771	3, 052
Burke/Whig	2, 707	18		
Peach/Whig		788		373
Brickdale/Tory	2, 456	2, 771		3, 358
Clare/Tory	283			
Lippincott/Tory		2, 518		
Daubeny/Tory			3, 143	2, 982

Sources: 1774 – Bristol Poll Book (1774); 1780 – J. Latimer, *The Annals of Bristol in the Eighteenth Century* (Bristol, 1893), p. 445; 1781 – Bristol Poll Book (1781); 1784 – Bristol Poll Book (1784).

The resounding victory of Henry Cruger in 1774, together with the election of Edmund Burke, represented a sound defeat for the Government and its' representatives in Bristol. Cruger's radical credentials are apparent from his involvement in local politics in the years between the late 1760s and early 1770s.[14] Bristol was a place in which widespread support for the radical agenda of John Wilkes appeared to exist. The Wilkites called for 'annual or triennial Parliaments and a more equal representation' of the population in Parliament, and also sought to bring Members of Parliament 'more frequently and closely under the control of his constituents'.[15] When Parliament disqualified the electoral victory of Wilkes in Middlesex in March 1769, a petition had been sent in protest from Wilkes' supporters in Bristol who also 'instructed their MPs to support John Wilkes over the Middlesex election case and to press for shorter parliaments'.[16] Cruger was at the centre of this activity and he resolutely opposed what he termed the 'numberless persecutions and cruelties exercised against the person of Mr. Wilkes'.[17] On 5 January 1770, Cruger personally presented a petition to the King against Wilkes' imprisonment. The petition was signed by half of Bristol's 5,000 voters.[18] Widespread popular support was further illustrated in April 1770 when Bristol was among the places that 'illuminated their streets or held banquets' to celebrate the release of Wilkes from prison.[19] In organisational terms the 'substantial following' that Wilkes enjoyed in Bristol was 'centred in the Independent Society', an organisation founded by Cruger and his father-in-law, Samuel Peach. Both were no doubt present in January 1772 when Wilkes was 'rapturously received' in Bristol and 'a large banquet was held in his honour'.[20] Not surprisingly, then, Lord North, then the Prime Minister, described Cruger as a 'hot Wilkite' in the run-up to the 1774 election in Bristol.[21]

Nationally Cruger's victory was relatively unique. According to Cannon, Bristol represented 'the only clear victory for provincial radicalism' at the 1774 general election.[22] The radical agenda clearly inspired Cruger's victory speech at the 1774 poll when he

declared to his constituents that it was his 'duty in Parliament to be guided by your counsels and instructions'.[23] He also declared that he would 'on all Occasions vote for shortening the Duration of Parliament'.[24] The fact that Cruger won a clear majority indicates that his radical stance struck a chord with the Bristol electorate. However, his Wilkite agenda prevented a genuine alliance with Edmund Burke, the other Whig candidate. Personal and political enmities between Cruger and Burke meant that only an unofficial joint-Whig platform ever existed. Their political differences were most apparent over Cruger's commitment to acting upon the 'instructions' of his electors, a policy known in radical Wilkite circles as the 'instruction movement'.[25] Burke, in contrast to Cruger, informed Bristol's electors in November 1774 that he would vote in accordance with his 'personal judgement' and so would be 'untrammelled by the "coercive authority" of the mandate or "instructions" of his constituents'.[26] Clear differences therefore help to explain why Cruger 'declined a union with Burke' in 1774.[27]

Political animosity between the two Whig camps was also reflected in letters to Bristol's newspapers. Burke's opposition to shorter parliaments was commonly and heavily criticised by Cruger's supporters. In October 1774, for example, one writer warned voters that since Burke was an 'opposer of short parliaments' that he was 'consequently…the enemy of a free and well balanced constitution'.[28] Another letter castigated Burke for being opposed to 'triennial parliaments', a Wilkite demand clearly adopted by Cruger's supporters. The writer added that Members of Parliament should act as 'a control on the Crown and the Lords', arguing that this was impossible unless MPs 'are controlled by the people', a policy which required 'frequent elections'.[29] In this climate it is hardly surprising that Cruger and Burke 'made no public appearances together' and had 'separate election committees, agents, and managers'.[30] Their differences further increased between 1774 and 1780, when both men simultaneously represented Bristol. In 1778, for example, Cruger 'obeyed instructions' sent from Bristol and voted against legislation designed to ease 'restrictions on Irish trade'.[31] This was a piece of legislation that had, in fact, been proposed by Burke. Differences between the two Whig representatives were also manifested in their respective attitudes to parliamentary representation. Cruger's approach to representative politics was accurately, if caustically, summed up by Burke who contrasted Cruger's 'diligent attendance' on the voters with his 'total neglect of attendance in Parliament'.[32]

Nevertheless, despite their varied differences, both Cruger and Burke were opposed to British treatment of the American colonies. While Burke disavowed Cruger's more radical

outlook, he was aligned to the Rockingham Whigs who supported the 'rights of the American colonists'.[33] The fact that both Burke and Cruger opposed the British military campaign in America was of national significance and, therefore, must not be underplayed. Upon their mutual election victories in 1774, Bristol was 'almost alone of any constituency' in the whole country that 'changed its representation to the advantage of America and to the discomfiture of the Court'.[34] The rift and subsequent conflict with the American colonies had sharply divided Bristol society and was the main reason for Cruger and Burke's nominations in 1774. Dissatisfaction among Bristol's Whigs with Lord Clare, their Parliamentary representative, and especially his support for the 'King's American policy' led to his early withdrawal from the 1774 contest.[35] It was in this climate that Cruger stepped forward as a candidate who advocated 'conciliatory measures towards the (American) colonies'. Cruger, however, perhaps because of his New York origins, was astute enough never to advocate full independence.[36] While Cruger soon won Whig approval and nomination, some of the most 'zealous opponents' of the Government's American policy decided to put Burke forward so 'that both the seats should be claimed' for the Whigs.[37] The nomination and election of both men marked a seismic shift in Bristol politics. The election of two Whig candidates split asunder the agreements of 1756 and 1766, whereby the Whig and Tory clubs had nominated one candidate each. By these means an electoral contest had been avoided for almost twenty years.[38] Both Cruger and Burke, therefore, represented Whig sentiment in Bristol at this juncture. Both were opposed to 'the growing influence of the crown' believing that this 'had produced discord with America' and so undermined 'the essential fabric of Bristol's trade'.[39]

The Whig victory was, however, not totally overwhelming. Burke only beat the Tory candidate and sitting MP, Matthew Brickdale, by a slender margin. Given Brickdale's support for the Government's American policy this meant that not all voters were sympathetic to the colonists, nor swayed by this issue in their voting behaviour. It must be noted, however, that Brickdale received large sums of government money to help with his election expenses.[40] It was accepted practice in this period for candidates to 'treat' voters with food and ale, and Brickdale was therefore well funded to meet this requirement.[41] However, such was the strength of feeling for the two Whig candidates that this benign bribery did not allow Brickdale to prevail. The war with the American colonies did not begin until 1775 and its actual outbreak changed the political scene once again. Bristol experienced a sharp division of loyalties. Electorally, the pendulum swung back in favour of those who supported George III's campaign against the American colonists. Thus,

voting for anti-Ministerial candidates appears to have been regarded as a less palatable option once the war had begun than it had been in 1774.

Petitions to the Crown on the American issue illustrate moreover that, while opinion was still fairly evenly divided between the pro-and anti-war camps in the mid-1770s, by the end of the decade the pro-war camp was firmly in the ascendant. A petition inspired by Bristol's Tories in September 1775 pledging loyalty and support for the monarch, undermines any notion that those with trading interests were automatically opposed to military action, since this pledge was signed by 'many merchants'.[42] Bradley notes that not all merchants with trade interests in America supported conciliation. Instead those that saw the law as 'a necessary part of commercial enterprise' sided with 'king and Parliament'.[43] In the mid-1770s, however, opinion was still evenly divided. On 7 October 1775, the address supporting military action received 901 signatories, while just a few days later the 'conciliatory petition' against the war gained 978 signatories.[44] This highlights the importance of the American issue to Bristol in this decade, for the 1, 879 people who signed these two petitions represented 35 per cent of Bristol's electorate of 5, 384 people in 1774. Burke's election speech in 1774 also stressed the importance of the American issue to Bristol society. Burke referred to 'our unhappy contest with America' and concluded that his aim was to 'reconcile British superiority with American liberty'.[45] By 1778, those opposing the War found it harder to counteract the growing tide in favour of the military campaign. This is illustrated by the fact that while a subscription launched in January 1778 to support the military campaign raised £21,000, a collection by Joseph Harford (a Burke supporter) for 'Americans detained as prisoners of war' only amassed £363.[46] It was in this context that Burke wrote to Champion (his Bristol supporter) in April 1778 and mentioned that the subscription in support of the war had 'made America abhor the name of Bristol'.[47] In June 1779 both the Merchant Society and the Common Council assembled to discuss the American issue. An address was carried supporting government policy and raising £1,000 to 'encourage enlistments in the forces', while the proposal tabled by Joseph Harford and Richard Bright for 'a change of Ministry' was defeated.[48]

By 1780 the political climate that had allowed Cruger and Burke to be elected in 1774 had fallen away. Their continued opposition to the war was now out of tune with the majority of local opinion. As a result, in the 1780 general election, the joint Tory candidature of Matthew Brickdale and Henry Lippincott won a resounding mandate. While Burke was clearly not aided by wider factors, particularly the fact that since 1774 many 'influential supporters' had been ruined by the disruption of trade to America, he also paid the price

for disregarding local opinion.[49] His poor showing and early withdrawal from the contest were largely due to his promotion of the trade interests of his native Ireland over English and specifically Bristol ones, and many merchants who had previously given support were 'offended by his conduct'.[50] Ironically perhaps, given this, Cruger was damaged by his hostility to Burke. Many of the latter's supporters reputedly refused to vote for Cruger, to the extent that Samuel Peach (Cruger's father-in-law) was put forward to receive the votes of those Whigs who objected to Cruger.[51] A further contributory factor was the fact that the Tory candidates were 'staunch supporters of the King's American policy' and subsequently received £1,000 towards their expenses from George III.[52] In 1780, Brickdale and Lippincott were, therefore, well placed to 'treat' voters, and so make the most of their political advantage at this point.[53]

The 1781 and 1784 Elections

The sudden death of Henry Lippincott in January 1781 allowed Cruger the chance to re-establish some electoral credibility in the ensuing by-election.[54] This by-election illustrated two things. Firstly, the victories in 1780 and 1781 suggest that the conditions that had contributed to Whig domination in 1774 had now turned in favour of the Tories. The 1780 election had seen two Tories returned and they were not about to let the advantage slip. In a move that also highlighted the Whigs' weakness, the Tories rejected a request made by the Whig Union club for 'an agreement' that would divide 'the representation between the two parties'.[55] The Tories were clearly confident in the candidature of George Daubeny, a man who had received the support of George III to the tune of £5,000, and wished to take advantage of 'continued discord in their enemies' camp'.[56] Secondly, despite the fact that the Whigs were divided over the respective merits of Cruger or Burke before eventually choosing the former, the marginal nature of Daubeny's victory revealed that support for an anti-war candidate such as Cruger had not totally dissipated.[57] Indeed the insults hurled by each side showed that the War still sharply polarised the two parties. Handbills printed by Daubeny's supporters, for instance, castigated Cruger as a 'foreigner' whose sympathies were with his native American rebels, and invited 'all true Britons' to 'try the difference between American bull beef and the roast beef of Old England (*sic*)'.[58] One anti-Cruger satirist inserted a mock address from 'Yankee Doodle', clearly referring to Cruger and what the writer felt were his true loyalties. The satire ran thus:-

> Should I be the Object of your Choice, I beg Leave to assure you, that I am determined to support the Independency of the thirteen stripes, in Opposition to the Royal Standard of Old England, and to vote for the Establishment of Republicanism in Opposition to your Constitution in Church and State.[59]

This satire sought to exploit Cruger's American connections in order to assist Daubeny's campaign. Cruger himself referred, in the immediate aftermath of the election, to the damage that such invective had wreaked on his campaign. Within the context of declaring his continued attachment to 'Church and King' Cruger lamented that, 'it is the constitutional attention to the privileges of the people which has brought upon us the stigma of disloyalty'.[60] However, Cruger far from lacked support at the 1781 election. Feelings ran high within the city and 'many collisions occurred in the streets' between supporters of the two parties. These reached their apogee when two Cruger supporters were killed, as a result of gunfire discharged by sailors in a quarrel over the flying of party flags.[61] Cruger's ability to retain a measure of electoral credibility may have been due to a growing sense of war weariness. Enthusiasm for the war dissipated in the early 1780s both nationally and locally. In early 1782, for example, both the Corporation of Bristol and a meeting of local citizens petitioned Parliament 'against the further continuance of the contest', and similar sentiments were passed by motions in Parliament.[62]

Peace was formally proclaimed on 13th October 1783. However, although the 1784 election thus occurred during peacetime, the political divisions of the previous few years still ran deep.[63] At the 1784 general election Cruger was able to exact revenge on Daubeny by a very slender margin. Brickdale, by comparison, comfortably retained his seat. Cruger's victory was all the more impressive because it overcame two major obstacles. Firstly, he had been absent in America when the election was called, and his father-in-law (Peach) stood to stop the Tories gaining too strong a lead 'in the early days of the struggle'.[64] Thus, in contrast to those voting for Brickdale and Daubeny, voters had to bide their time to vote for Cruger, suggesting a strong personal commitment by voters towards this candidate. Secondly, Cruger's absence had given the Tories the opportunity to publish false claims that he had 'torn down and trampled upon the English flag in New York'.[65] Such claims would have seriously reduced support for a less popular candidate. However, such calumnies were, in large part, indicative of the increasingly desperate nature of Daubeny's campaign. His supporters claimed that Cruger was ineligible to stand since he was a 'Native of America' and this was a 'Sovereign State' as 'independent of Great Britain' as 'any other Nation'.[66] Even after he had been defeated, Daubeny petitioned against the result on the grounds that 'Cruger had ceased to be an English subject'.[67] Despite these problems, the end of the war had clearly made conditions ripe for Cruger's political resurgence and his supporters celebrated by 'sacking' the Tory headquarters at the White Lion Inn.[68] However, the radical Cruger of 1774 was not the same man in 1784. Evidence suggests that his commitment to radical principles had waned in the intervening

decade. In 1781-1782, Cruger had served as Mayor of Bristol, and his commitment to what one historian has labelled the 'self-perpetuating oligarchy' that constituted the Bristol Corporation, contrasts starkly with his earlier support for Wilkite electoral reform.[69] Baigent claims that Cruger appeared less radical over time and that he 'even compromised his principles enough to accept a government pension of £500 a year' in the mid-1780s.[70] Nevertheless, he was still perceived by many contemporaries to be a radical candidate in the Bristol election of 1774.

AN ANALYSIS OF VOTING BEHAVIOUR

Having provided an overview of elections in this period, it is now important to provide an analysis of voting behaviour. Firstly, it is necessary firstly to assess the extent to which the votes of the shoemaker-electorate (hereafter SE) and the tailor-electorate (hereafter TE) compared to the Bristol electorate (hereafter BE) as a whole. Comparative results for the elections in 1774, 1781, and 1784 are displayed in tables 6:2, 6:3, and 6:4. These provide a

Table 6:2 : 1774 Election: Distribution of Votes per Candidate

Cand.	BE** votes	% of votes	% of pop.*	SE** votes	% of votes	% of pop.*	TE** votes	% of votes	% of pop*
Cruger	3565	39.56	66.21	233	42.29	70.18	104	41.27	69.80
Burke	2707	30.04	50.28	183	33.21	55.12	81	32.14	54.36
Brick	2456	27.26	45.62	130	23.59	39.16	64	25.4	42.95
Clare	283	3.14	5.26	5	0.91	1.51	3	1.19	2.01
Total	9,011	100%	-	551	100%	-	252	100%	-

* 5, 384 Voters; 332 Shoemakers; 149 Tailors
** BE = Bristol Electorate; SE = Shoemaker Electorate; TE = Tailor Electorate

Table 6:3 : 1781 Election: Distribution of Votes per Candidate

Candidate	BE votes*	% of votes/pop.	SE votes*	% of votes/pop.	TE votes*	% of votes/pop.
Daubeny	3143	53.14	184	48.94	82	49.10
Cruger	2771	46.86	192	51.06	85	50.90
Total	5914	100%	376	100%	167	100%

* BE = Bristol Electorate; SE = Shoemaker Electorate; TE = Tailor Electorate

Table 6:4 : 1784 Election: Distribution of Votes per Candidate

Cand.	BE** votes	% of votes	% of pop.*	SE** votes	% of votes	% of pop.*	TE** votes	% of votes	% of pop.*
Brick	3358	34.39	55.51	204	33.06	52.71	114	36.19	61.96
Cruger	3052	31.25	50.45	214	34.68	55.30	90	28.57	48.91
Daub	2982	30.54	49.30	172	27.88	44.44	99	31.43	53.80
Peach	373	3.82	6.17	27	4.38	6.98	12	3.81	6.52
Total	9765	100%	-	617	100%	-	315	100%	-

* 6, 049 voters; 387 Shoemakers; 184 Tailors
** BE = Bristol Electorate; SE = Shoemaker Electorate; TE = Tailor Electorate

breakdown of the manner in which votes for the candidates in all three elections were cast among the whole electorate and among shoemakers and tailors. The results have been

presented both in terms of the proportion of all votes cast and as a proportion of the total electorate. This makes an important difference in a system where every individual was allowed to cast two votes, and is especially important when assessing the popularity of individual candidates in contests where three or four candidates stood for election. This can be illustrated by reference to a hypothetical situation in which the partnership of Candidates A and B were chosen by every voter, while the partnership of Candidates C and D gained no votes. In this scenario an analysis of votes polled would only indicate that each of the successful candidates had polled 50 per cent of the votes, despite the fact that 100 per cent of the electorate voted for them. This distinction is most useful with regards to the 1774 election. The sheer scale of Cruger's popularity is not immediately obvious from his attaining almost 40 per cent of BE votes, but becomes clearer when we know that 66 per cent of all BE voters selected his candidature. Cruger's general popularity in 1774 was mirrored among shoemakers and tailors. The proportion of voters in these groups that opted for him stood at 70 per cent. Support for Cruger, with his radical programme and anti-war stance, was therefore high across the electorate as a whole. The voting trends of Bristol's shoemakers and tailors closely mirrored those of the wider electorate. Thus shoemaker/tailor support for Burke, which stood at around 55 per cent, was only marginally higher than among the whole electorate, 50 per cent of whom voted for the Irishman. Brickdale was marginally less popular among the trades than among the electorate as a whole. However, the fact that between 39 and 43 per cent of shoemakers and tailors voted for Brickdale suggests that not all shoemakers and tailors were opposed to the War nor swayed by this issue.

Table 6:3 reveals the slender nature of Daubeny's victory at the 1781 by-election, illustrating a difference between the voting behaviour of shoemakers and tailors on the one hand, and the Bristol electorate as a whole. While Daubeny won the overall contest, Cruger would have achieved a marginal victory if the voting trends of the shoemakers and tailors had been repeated among the electorate. 1781 nevertheless marked a sea change. Far more shoemakers and tailors voted for Daubeny than had been prepared to vote for Brickdale in 1774. Daubeny was elected to Parliament on the back of receiving £5,000 from Government funds, and claimed that Bristolians were such enthusiasts for the American War that they 'were willing to sacrifice half their fortune in the prosecution of it'.[71] The voting habits of the shoemakers and tailors more or less duplicated the turnaround among the general electorate. The 1781 figures therefore make it clear that the shoemakers and tailors had no enduring commitment to a radical or anti-war candidate. Rather their voting habits varied with that of the electorate as a whole.

In 1784, as table 6:4 reveals, a variation in the voting trends of the shoemakers and tailors occurred. By comparison with the general electorate who voted for Brickdale, with Cruger marginally defeating Daubeny, shoemakers put Cruger at the top of their poll with Brickdale reasonably well ahead of Daubeny. However, tailors overwhelmingly backed Brickdale in first place, with Daubeny a clear second and Cruger third. Perhaps the most marked change was the collapse of Cruger's support among the tailors. In just ten years the proportion of tailors voting for Cruger dropped from 70 to 49 per cent, while, those voting for Brickdale rose from 43 to 62 per cent. Again, these results reveal that the two trades, although containing some idiosyncrasies of their own, were, on the whole, swayed by more general electoral trends. In the case of the tailors, support for Brickdale can be partly explained by his connections with the trade. His father had been a draper in the city and Matthew Brickdale himself had been a clothier before retiring to focus on his political career. These connections were reflected in his decision to hold his election campaign meetings at the Taylors' Hall.[72] Tailors may therefore have felt that Brickdale had their interests at heart, especially as he was known to protect 'the Bristol commercial interest' in Parliament.[73]

However, these results are very generic, because they include out-voters as well as those who lived within the city. It is important to isolate Bristol-resident voters (hereafter BEI) from out-voters (hereafter BEO), Bristol-based shoemakers (hereafter SEI) from out-voting shoemakers (SEO), and Bristol-based tailors (hereafter TEI) from out-voting tailors (TEO), in order to more fully assess voting patterns. This is particularly important because of the fairly large and growing portion of the electorate composed of out-voters. The out-voting portion of the BE rose from 27.58 per cent in 1774 to 34.75 per cent in 1784. Among the SE this portion rose from 23.19 to 32.3 per cent in the same period, while the TE sample ranged between 34 and 35 per cent.[74] The Bristol situation was far from unique. O'Gorman, for example, notes that a 'significant minority of voters in the unreformed electoral system did not reside in the places in which they voted', and that 'the mobility of labour and crafts rendered outvoting a natural phenomenon in this unusually mobile society'.[75] Non-resident voters formed 30 per cent of the Newcastle and Dover electorates, 40 per cent of the Leicester electorate and 25 per cent of that in York in this period.[76] Tables 6:5, 6:6, and 6:7 distinguish between the votes of in and out-voters for the BE, SE, and TE constituencies.

The figures for 1774 reveal that the major force behind Cruger lay in the votes of those *actually* resident in Bristol. Thus, 70 per cent of BEI voters opted for Cruger, including 75 per cent of Bristol-based shoemakers and tailors, whereas only around 56 per cent of all out-voters, and out-voting shoemakers and tailors voted for him. This is an important distinction to make. Differences between the support of in- and out-voters can be obscured

Table 6:5 : 1774 Election: The proportion of Bristol-residents and out-voters that voted for each Candidate

Voters*	Cruger	Burke	Brickdale	Clare
BEI (3,899)	2731 (70.04%)	1967 (50.45%)	1731 (44.40%)	241 (6.18%)
BEO (1,485)	834 (56.16%)	740 (49.83%)	725 (48.82%)	42 (2.83%)
SEI (255)	190 (74.51%)	141 (55.29%)	95 (37.25%)	5 (1.96%)
SEO (77)	43 (56.58%)	42 (55.26%)	34 (44.74%)	-
TEI (98)	74 (75.51%)	53 (54.08%)	41 (41.84%)	3 (3.06%)
TEO (51)	30 (58.82%)	28 (54.90%)	23 (45.10%)	-

* BEI = Bristol Electorate In-voters; BEO = Bristol Electorate Out-voters; SEI = Shoemaker Electorate In-voters; SEO = Shoemaker Electorate Out-voters; TEI = Tailor Electorate In-voters; TEO = Tailor Electorate Out-voters.

Table 6:6 : 1781 Election: The proportion of Bristol-residents and out-voters that voted for each Candidate

Voters*	Daubeny	Cruger
BER (3958)	2285 (57.73%)	1673 (42.27%)
BEO (1956)	858 (43.87%)	1098 (56.13%)
SER (257)	151 (58.75%)	106 (41.25%)
SEO (119)	33 (27.73%)	86 (72.27%)
TER (110)	63 (57.27%)	47 (42.73%)
TEO (57)	19 (33.33%)	38 (66.67%)

* BEI = Bristol Electorate In-voters; BEO = Bristol Electorate Out-voters; SEI = Shoemaker Electorate In-voters; SEO = Shoemaker Electorate Out-voters; TEI = Tailor Electorate In-voters; TEO = Tailor Electorate Out-voters.

Table 6:7 : 1784 Election: The proportion of Bristol-residents and out-voters that voted for each Candidate

Voters*	Cruger	Peach	Brickdale	Daubeny
BER (3947)	1974 (50.01%)	259 (6.56%)	2250 (57%)	1960 (49.66%)
BEO (2102)	1078 (51.28%)	114 (5.42%)	1108 (52.71%)	1022 (48.62%)
SER (261)	149 (57.09%)	17 (6.51%)	145 (55.56%)	113 (43.30%)
SEO (125)	66 (52.80%)	10 (8%)	59 (47.20%)	59 (47.20%)
TER (119)	56 (47.06%)	9 (7.56%)	80 (67.23%)	66 (55.46%)
TEO (65)	34 (52.31%)	3 (4.62%)	34 (52.31%)	33 (50.77%)

* BEI = Bristol Electorate In-voters; BEO = Bristol Electorate Out-voters; SEI = Shoemaker Electorate In-voters; SEO = Shoemaker Electorate Out-voters; TEI = Tailor Electorate In-voters; TEO = Tailor Electorate Out-voters.

by poor methodology. Baigent's analysis of the 1774 election makes the mistake, for example, of confusing the number of votes with the proportion of voters voting for each candidate, a key error when analysing a two-vote system. On the basis of this, she wrongly concludes that 'Cruger received support from 39.6% of all voters and 41.1% of all Bristolians', and that Cruger therefore 'received only marginally more support from city voters than from country ones'.[77]

Despite the differences, Cruger still came top of the poll in 1774 among all the outvoting groups. The lower ratios are explained by the fact that outvoting groups voted for Burke and Brickdale in greater numbers. Burke received only marginally less of the outside vote than Cruger among shoemakers and tailors, suggesting that outside voters were possibly more committed to the joint Whig ticket, or that they were more familiar with Burke because he was a national figure. Differences between in- and out-voters were again marked in 1781 (see table 6:6), although by contrast with 1774 out-voting was much heavier in Cruger's favour. While the majority of out-voters voted for Cruger, Bristol-based voters clearly backed Daubeny. Among out-voting shoemakers Cruger won a resounding majority of around 70 per cent, while Bristol-based shoemakers clearly favoured Daubeny. With regard to the tailors, out-voters also favoured Cruger by a large margin, while Bristol-based tailors clearly opted for Daubeny. Thus, out-voters clearly accounted for the marginal nature of Daubeny's victory, since Bristol-resident voters of all kinds opted for the Tory candidate. The massive majority which Cruger obtained among out-voting shoemakers and tailors was in marked contrast to trends among their brethren in Bristol itself, where both groups voted for Daubeny in proportions that mirrored those among the general electorate. It was out-voters in these trades that accounted for what seemed like continued support for Cruger among these occupations. Out-voters may have been more immune to political pressures within Bristol itself, and were also less likely to have been subjected to anti-Cruger sentiment in the local press.

Phillips has drawn attention to the ways in which out-voters nationally 'played a vital role in elections when they turned out in sufficient numbers', actually altering the 1796 poll in Norwich, for example, in comparison to the votes of residents.[78] Out-voters based in London also wielded considerable power as, according to O'Gorman, they often constituted 10 per cent of the electorate. These findings are ones that are supported by the Bristol evidence. Here the proportion of London-resident voters among the total electorate stood at 8 per cent in 1774, 11.5 per cent in 1781, and 14 per cent in 1784.[79] Much effort was exerted to win their vote for, being 'alive to national and parliamentary considerations', their 'intervention could decide a contest'.[80] Perhaps more significantly out-voters were also 'beyond the limits of deference and paternalism' and could therefore 'only be won through superior organization', at great cost to the campaigning parties who paid for their food and accommodation at the inns of the various candidates.[81] Phillips notes that the costs of 'bringing in out-voters' were part of the 'fixed costs of campaigning', often amounting to bribery since 'out-voters often received more than just travel compensation for making the journey to cast their votes'.[82] It would appear that in

1781 Cruger's electoral campaign was the most effective in bringing in out-voters, an absolutely vital requirement given the healthy majority for Daubeny among all three groups of Bristol-based voters. Likewise, the breakdown of the figures suggests that Cruger's electoral renaissance in 1781, after the 1780 fiasco, was in purely Bristol terms not as solid as overall figures initially suggest. Indeed, the strength of his out-vote almost turned the result in his favour.

In 1784 two-party representation at Westminster was restored as can be seen from the spread of votes in table 6:7. While Brickdale held a clear lead among Bristol voters, a fact reflected in the final result, his lead over Cruger among out-voters was marginal. Among shoemakers based in Bristol a clear preference for Cruger was restored, while Brickdale was preferred to Daubeny as a second choice. While out-voting shoemakers also put Cruger first they could not decide between Brickdale and Daubeny. Among tailors, Brickdale and Daubeny were clear leaders, with Cruger in third, but outside-voters had Cruger and Brickdale in joint top place, with Daubeny marginally behind them. The difference between in- and out-voters was thus far less pronounced suggesting that the end of the American War in 1783, and with it the dissension in domestic politics, had dissipated. Overall two things are clear from a comparison between in-and out-voters across the three elections. Firstly, voters in Bristol appeared to vote differently to those outside the city, and were evidently swayed by different issues. Secondly, the habits of the shoemakers and tailors generally followed the trends of whichever group they belonged to, implying that they were strongly influenced by the socio-political climate in which they lived and worked. To test this hypothesis further it is necessary to make a further breakdown of the election results. In the interests of presenting figures that can be more readily understood, the results for individual candidates shall be transferred into results per party. Given the divide between Whigs and Tories over the American question this process will not obscure this issue, but rather illustrates support for the varying positions more clearly.[83]

Support for Parties among Masters and Journeymen

Analysis of party voting habits can begin by comparing the voting patterns of masters and journeymen in the shoemaking and tailoring trades. This approach is made possible by the close correlation in time between extant trade directories and poll books. By cross-referencing the names in the voting lists with trade directories it was possible to isolate a separate sample of masters, with the remainder representing a nominal sample of journeymen.[84] While table 6:8 splits all the votes between the two parties for the entire

Table 6:8: The Electorate: The Distribution of Votes between the Whig and Tory Party, 1774-1784

Election/ Votes*	Whigs	%	Tories	%	Total
BEI 1774	4, 698	70.43%	1,972	29.57%	6, 670
BEO 1774	1, 574	67.24%	767	32.76%	2, 341
BE 1774	6, 272	69.60%	2, 739	30.40%	9,011
BEI 1781	1,673	42.27%	2, 285	57.73%	3, 958
BEO 1781	1, 098	56.13%	858	43.87%	1, 956
BE 1781	2, 771	46.86%	3, 143	53.14%	5, 914
BEI 1784	2, 170	34.01%	4, 210	65.99%	6, 380
BEO 1784	1, 255	37.08%	2, 130	62.92%	3, 385
BE 1784	3, 425	35.07%	6, 340	64.93%	9, 765

* See Table 6:2 and Table 6:5 for these abbreviations.

Table 6:9: Shoemakers: The Distribution of Votes between the Whig and Tory Party, 1774-1784

Election/ Voters*	Whigs	%	Tories	%	Total
SJ 1774	262	76.38%	81	23.62%	343
SM 1774	69	78.41%	19	21.59%	88
SEI 1774	**331**	**76.80%**	**100**	**23.20%**	**431**
SEO 1774	85	70.83%	35	29.17%	120
SE 1774	**416**	**75.50%**	**135**	**24.50%**	**551**
SJ 1781	91	42.33%	124	57.67%	215
SM 1781	15	35.71%	27	64.29%	42
SEI 1781	**106**	**41.25%**	**151**	**58.75%**	**257**
SEO 1781	86	72.27%	33	27.73%	119
SE 1781	**192**	**51.06%**	**184**	**48.94%**	**376**
SJ 1784	141	39.50%	216	60.50%	357
SM 1784	25	37.31%	42	62.69%	67
SEI 1784	**166**	**39.15%**	**258**	**60.85%**	**424**
SEO 1784	76	39.18%	118	60.82%	194
SE 1784	**242**	**39.16%**	**376**	**60.84%**	**618**

* SJ = Journeymen Shoemakers; SM = Master Shoemakers. See Table 6:2 and Table 6:5 for other abbreviations.

Table 6:10: Tailors: The Distribution of Votes between the Whig and Tory Party, 1774-1784

Election/ Voters*	Whigs	%	Tories	%	Total
TJ 1774	83	83%	17	17%	100
TM 1774	44	61.97%	27	38.03%	71
TEI 1774	**127**	**74.27%**	**44**	**25.73%**	**171**
TEO 1774	58	71.60%	23	28.40%	81
TE 1774	**185**	**73.41%**	**67**	**26.59%**	**252**
TJ 1781	32	49.23%	33	50.77%	65
TM 1781	15	33.33%	30	66.67%	45
TEI 1781	**47**	**42.73%**	**63**	**57.27%**	**110**
TEO 1781	38	66.67%	19	33.33%	57
TE 1781	**85**	**50.9%**	**82**	**49.1%**	**167**
TJ 1784	40	31.75%	86	68.25%	126
TM 1784	25	28.74%	62	71.26%	87
TEI 1784	**65**	**30.52%**	**148**	**69.48%**	**213**
TEO 1784	37	36.27%	65	63.73%	102
TE 1784	**102**	**32.38%**	**213**	**67.62%**	**315**

* TJ = Journeymen Tailors; TM = Master Tailors. See Table 6:2 and Table 6:5 for other abbreviations.

Bristol electorate, tables 6:9 and 6:10 do the same for the shoemakers and tailors. This data is further divided between journeymen shoemakers (hereafter SJ) and master shoemakers (hereafter SM), and between journeymen tailors (hereafter TJ) and master tailors (hereafter TM). Analysis of the 1774 and 1784 election results must incorporate an understanding of the relative strengths and weaknesses of the Whig and Tory parties in these elections. In 1774 a strong Whig organisation fielded two main candidates (Cruger/Burke) and was opposed by a weakened Tory organisation with only one candidate (Brickdale). By contrast, in 1784 a rejuvenated Tory organisation put forward two main candidates (Brickdale/Daubeny), and was faced by a weakened Whig camp with only one candidate (Cruger). Given that the party contest in 1774 and 1784 was therefore unequal, a measured analysis can interpret the votes for the three (main) candidates that stood in both 1774 and 1784 in the following way. If all the votes were spread equally between the candidates then each would have received 33.33 per cent of all votes cast. In this sense a showing for the Tories and Whigs in 1774 and 1784 respectively, when both only fielded one candidate, of above 33.33 per cent would represent a 'victory' in real terms. Likewise a showing for the Whigs and Tories in 1774 and 1784 respectively, when both fielded two candidates, of above 66.66 per cent would also represent a 'victory' in real terms. Thus a party was 'under-supported' when its proportion of the vote fell below the level expected from an equal share, and 'over-supported' when its proportion rose above this level. This method permits a more rigorous assessment of support for each party in 1774 and 1784.

Table 6:8 appears to indicate that the Bristol electorate as a whole showed no consistent leaning towards any particular party. While the Whigs were slightly 'over-supported' in 1774, in 1784 the ratios between the parties were almost exactly what one would expect given the number of candidates per party. Table 6:9 reveals that, in contrast to the whole electorate, shoemakers were very much aligned behind the Whig party. In both 1774 and 1784, although especially in the former year, the shoemakers 'over-supported' Whig candidates and Cruger in particular. The blip in this trend at the 1781 by-election was a by-product of war-time pressures on Bristol politics and voting trends. These trends showed little discrepancy between those of masters and journeymen, as both showed strong levels of Whig support. By contrast, the differences between votes cast by employee and employer in the tailoring trade were more marked. As table 6:10 illustrates, journeymen tailors strongly 'over-supported' the Whigs in 1774, when the party received a massive 83 per cent share of their votes, while master tailors actually 'under-supported' the Whigs and 'over-supported' the Tories. Even in 1781 the support for Cruger among journeymen tailors stood up well. Daubeny polled just one vote more than Cruger among this group.

The reason for these sharp distinctions may lie in discord between masters and journeymen witnessed during the industrial disputes that occurred at these times. The discord produced by the 1773 tailors' dispute may have hardened the journeymen against the views of their masters in the 1774 election, while support for Cruger in 1781 may have partly reflected the discord created by industrial action in that year as well.[85] These industrial disputes, as well as one in 1777, and the militant stance adopted may have meant that journeymen tailors were more radicalised by the American War than other journeymen. By contrast, master tailors were more inclined to vote for the Tory interest, perhaps partly because of the already cited connections of this trade with Matthew Brickdale. Such factors may also explain the 1784 turnaround, when journeymen tailors joined their masters in casting votes that slightly 'under-supported' the Whigs. Thus, the ending of the War in 1783, in addition to the fact that a period of relative industrial peace had begun, may have made journeymen more amenable to the wishes of their masters.

Journeymen were normally expected to follow their masters' views. In February 1781, for example, one writer lambasted Cruger for having encouraged 'labouring freemen' back in 1774 to 'vote in opposition to their masters'.[86] The writer further warned that he was again (in 1781) 'spiriting up the journeymen freemen to disoblige their masters and thereby to reduce them and their families to the same miserable situation'.[87] Such propaganda was certainly inaccurate with regard to the shoemaking trade where masters had showed the same enthusiasm for Cruger in 1774 as their journeymen. A letter sent to *Felix Farley's Bristol Journal* by 'A Journeyman Shoemaker' in January 1781 emphasised this point as well as the influence of masters on the votes of their journeymen. The journeyman recounted a conversation in which the master showed an acknowledgement that his journeyman 'was always a friend to the Blue (Tory) interest', but hoped he would vote for Cruger, to which the journeyman replied, 'I have no objection to be sure to oblige you'.[88] Among master tailors, however, Cruger was received less wholeheartedly, as journeymen in this trade (unlike their shoemaking counterparts) were more likely to run counter to their masters by registering a Whig vote. In 1780 the war of propaganda, waged through the newspapers, appears to have been won by Daubeny. This was despite the best efforts of a 'Tradesman' who urged 'Journeymen of all Trades' to 'vote for Cruger'. The writer contrasted Daubeny, who was responsible for spreading 'poverty, distress and misery through the land', with Cruger who had protected Bristol's trade in Parliament.[89] Pro-Daubeny articles were, however, more numerous and many were seemingly submitted by journeymen themselves. Thus, a 'Journeyman Barber' was clearly on Daubeny's side when he urged his 'Brethren and Fellow Labourers' to back the candidate who 'is a real friend to

OLD ENGLAND (*sic*)' rather than one 'who from principle wishes success to the rebellious American Congress'.[90] Likewise, a 'Journeyman Hatter' represented mistrust of those sympathetic to America, stating his belief that 'the sticklers for American Independence undoubtedly mean to go over whenever it is separated from us and receive the reward of their treason'.[91] This literature tends to reinforce the view that once the war was under way many voters, including numerous journeymen, felt duty bound to support their country. By 1784, however, the political terrain had shifted once again, for despite false claims that Cruger had trampled on the British flag in America, a return to parity between the parties was the order of the day.[92] A 'Freeman' encapsulated the new mood when he urged that 'those who vote for Cruger and Brickdale must be looked upon as lovers of peace' and were the 'true friends to the trade, commerce and best interests of the city of Bristol'.[93] The strength of the propaganda clearly reflected the voting patterns evident in 1781 and 1784. While shoemakers favoured the Whig camp, until 1784 masters and journeymen in the tailoring trade were split between the Tories and Whigs respectively.

VOTING BY PARISH/AREA

However, these figures take no account of where voters lived and it is necessary to investigate whether social demography had any bearing on voting behaviour. It is particularly important to ascertain whether artisans living in areas populated largely by other artisans voted differently from those living in areas in which elite groups predominated. Given that the concern of this chapter lies with comparing the voting trends of shoemakers and tailors with the total electorate, a decision was taken to proceed in the following manner. Firstly each parish has been designated as either an artisan or non-artisan parish, on the basis of Baigent's extensive survey of the socio-economic composition of Bristol society in the 1770s. Baigent defined an 'artisan parish' as one in which 'artisans and those in low and middle status trades predominated', in contrast to the 'wealthy trading parishes' in central Bristol such as St. Nicholas, or 'genteel suburban parishes' such as St. Augustine, St. Michael and Clifton.[94] Her classification therefore allows Bristol to be divided into three areas. Firstly, the eastern parishes which were heavily populated by artisans, and which consisted of Castle Precincts, St. James, St. Peter, and St. Philip. Secondly, the southern parishes that were also largely populated by artisans and labourers, and which consisted of Bedminster, St. Mary Redcliff, St. Thomas, and Temple. Thirdly, the central and western parishes of Bristol, being areas that were either socially mixed or dominated by elite social groups. Aggregate party allegiances for each

area were sought, both amongst the total electorate, and among the shoemakers and tailors. The results are presented in tables 6:11, 6:12 and 6:13.

An analysis of voting trends in the eastern area highlights support for the Whig party, and Cruger in particular, among artisans. Thus, in 1774, all voters in this 'artisan' area 'over-supported' the Whigs to the tune of 78 per cent, proportions that were surpassed by the shoemakers and tailors in this area. Even in 1781 Cruger's support in the eastern area held firm. It was the only area of Bristol where he gained a majority in this year. However, support for Cruger among shoemakers and tailors in this area was less than among all voters, suggesting that the rest of the eastern 'artisan' population were more loyal to Cruger than these two trades. In 1784, however, shoemakers once again 'over-supported' Cruger to the same extent as all voters, while the tailors only slightly 'over-supported' the sole Whig candidate. The latter anomaly can be explained by reference to the earlier observation that journeymen tailors were only influenced by their masters in 1784, and by the allegiance of master tailors to the Tory party and to Brickdale in particular. Overall there was little doubt of the large support for Cruger in the eastern area. This appears to have been partly a reflection of longer voting patterns. Thus, Nicholas Rogers points to the long-term nature of Whig support in this area throughout the eighteenth century, and remarks that 'parishes noted for their noncomformist presence were those where the Whig was strongest'. St. James and St. Philip 'remained a Whig stronghold right down to the 1780s'.[95] A more pervasive influence than religion was the belief that Cruger defended Bristol's trade and supported the poor. Thus, in 1781 a letter-writer from St. James lambasted Daubeny for supporting 'that destructive War which has nearly ruined our foreign Trade and so heavily loaded us with Taxes', while Cruger was presented as a 'Lover of the Poor' and 'an Encourager of Trade (*sic*)'.[96] Namier and Brooke assert that

Table 6:11 : The Bristol Electorate (BEI): Distribution of Votes per Party in three areas of Bristol, 1774-1784

Area*	Year	Whig (%)	Tory (%)	Total
Eastern (1682)	1774	2354 (78.44%)	647 (21.56%)	3001
Southern (944)	1774	958 (64.34%)	531 (35.66%)	1489
Non-artisan (1273)	1774	1386 (63.58%)	794 (36.42%)	2180
Total (3,899)	**1774**	**4, 698 (70.43%)**	**1, 972 (29.57%)**	**6, 670**
Eastern (1,799)	1781	916 (50.92%)	883 (49.08%)	1799
Southern (907)	1781	313 (34.51%)	594 (65.49%)	907
Non-artisan (1252)	1781	444 (35.46%)	808 (64.54%)	1252
Total (3,958)	**1781**	**1, 673 (42.27%)**	**2, 285 (57.73%)**	**3, 958**
Eastern (1742)	1784	1199 (44.89%)	1472 (55.11%)	2671
Southern (951)	1784	364 (23.26%)	1201 (76.74%)	1565
Non-artisan (1254)	1784	607 (28.31%)	1537 (71.69%)	2144
Total (3,947)	**1784**	**2, 170 (34.01%)**	**4, 210 (65.99%)**	**6, 380**

* Eastern = Artisan parishes of Castle Precincts, St. James, St. Philip and St. Peter.
Southern = Artisan parishes of Bedminster, St. Mary Redcliff, St. Thomas, and Temple.
Non-artisan = Socially mixed parishes of All Saints, Christchurch, Clifton, St. Augustine, St. John, St. Leonard, St. Maryport, St. Michael, St.Nicholas, and St. Stephen.

Table 6:12 : The Shoemakers (SEI): Distribution of Votes per Party in three areas of Bristol, 1774-1784

Area*	Year	Whig (%)	Tory (%)	Total
Eastern (138)	1774	206 (82.40%)	44 (17.60%)	250
Southern (69)	1774	71 (70.30%)	30 (29.70%)	101
Non-artisan (48)	1774	54 (67.5%)	26 (32.5%)	80
Total (255)	**1774**	**331 (76.80%)**	**100 (23.20%)**	**431**
Eastern (139)	1781	60 (43.17%)	79 (56.83%)	139
Southern (72)	1781	33 (45.83%)	39 (54.17%)	72
Non-artisan (46)	1781	13 (28.26%)	33 (71.74%)	46
Total (257)	**1781**	**106 (41.25%)**	**151 (58.75%)**	**257**
Eastern (137)	1784	99 (46.92%)	112 (53.08%)	211
Southern (72)	1784	45 (37.5%)	75 (62.5%)	120
Non-artisan (52)	1784	22 (23.66%)	71 (76.34%)	93
Total (261)	**1784**	**166 (39.15%)**	**258 (60.85%)**	**424**

* See Table 6:11 for a breakdown of parishes per area.

Table 6:13 : The Tailors (TEI): Distribution of Votes per Party in three areas of Bristol, 1774-1784

Area*	Year	Whig (%)	Tory (%)	Total
Eastern (62)	1774	97 (84.35%)	18 (15.65%)	115
Southern (16)	1774	10 (45.45%)	12 (54.55%)	22
Non-artisan (20)	1774	20 (58.82%)	14 (41.18%)	34
Total (98)	**1774**	**127 (74.27%)**	**44 (25.73%)**	**171**
Eastern (58)	1781	27 (46.55%)	31 (53.45%)	58
Southern (24)	1781	6 (25%)	18 (75%)	24
Non-artisan (28)	1781	14 (50%)	14 (50%)	28
Total (110)	**1781**	**47 (42.73%)**	**63 (57.27%)**	**110**
Eastern (62)	1784	40 (37.38%)	67 (62.62%)	107
Southern (26)	1784	9 (16.36%)	46 (83.64%)	55
Non-artisan (31)	1784	16 (31.37%)	35 (68.63%)	51
Total (119)	**1784**	**65 (30.52%)**	**148 (69.48%)**	**213**

* See Table 6:11 for a breakdown of parishes per area.

Cruger's attention to Bristol affairs, and subsequent neglect of parliamentary life, may explain why he was so 'popular with the poorer classes at Bristol'.[97] In this regard, discord between Richard Champion (Burke's campaign manager) and Cruger was allegedly further inflamed by 'the superior attitude Champion adopted towards many of Cruger's supporters who were drawn from the artisan classes'.[98]

Given this evidence it is therefore hardly surprising that the eastern area, so dominated by artisans, should show such strong support for the Whig party, and especially for Cruger. On this basis, one would expect the Southern area, equally populated by artisans and labourers, to likewise show a predisposition towards the Whig interest. However, the Southern area in fact showed a marked bias toward the Tory interest, with the result that the Whigs were slightly 'under-supported' during their triumphant year of 1774, and were vastly 'under-supported' in 1784. This trend was reinforced among the votes of tailors in this area, as they vastly 'under-supported' the Whigs and 'over-supported' the Tories in both 1774 and 1784. By contrast, shoemakers in the Southern area displayed a slight pro-

Whig bias which suggests that they were pulled between the loyalties of their counterparts in the east and the strong pro-Tory ethos of those among whom they lived and worked. Southern-based shoemakers therefore went against the grain for the area, and slightly 'over-supported' the Whigs in 1774 and 1784. The marginal nature of this fact can be attributed to the strength of the Tory influence on this area of Bristol.

Such differences between two areas of similar socio-economic composition can only be satisfactorily explained by the ways in which religious allegiances affected local politics. While the eastern parishes were dominated by non-conformist affiliations, Baigent has accounted for the strong support for Tory candidates in the southern parishes on the basis of the strong influence of the established Church. The latter was supportive of pro-government candidates, and given that Anglican systems of charitable relief were marked in these parishes, strong support for Brickdale existed.[99] Such differences help to explain the variations in voting patterns, and are illustrated by letters to the newspaper press from southern-based artisans. In January 1781, for example, a shoemaker based in the southern parish of St. Mary Redcliff accused Cruger of being unfit 'to be a guardian of the British constitution'.[100] He further claimed that his 'fellow labourers' would 'defend to the last man their King, their laws and their religion against all their enemies'.[101] In the eastern parishes, by contrast, Baigent and Rogers agree that the 'influence of the Church was less strongly felt' and so 'the result was anti-Ministerial as might have been expected given their poverty and the artisan workforce who lived there'.[102] Both differences in religion and socio-economic composition therefore explain in large part the variations in trends between the Eastern and Southern areas.

The trends in central and western Bristol are perhaps best encapsulated by the fact that the best Whig result came in 1774 when this party was slightly 'under-supported' by all voters and tailors, and were very marginally 'over-supported' by shoemakers. In both 1781 and 1784, the Whigs were vastly 'under-supported' by all voters and by shoemakers, although tailors showed a greater disposition to vote for Cruger. The limited Whig vote in this area among shoemakers proves that voting was not necessarily trade-specific, and that the manner in which politics impacted upon the immediate socio-economic milieu was often more important. The fact that shoemaking support for the Whigs declined in areas where those of a higher social status lived was therefore likely related to this factor. In 1774, for example, it was certainly clear that high-ranking civic dignitaries did not approve of Cruger and Burke. In these years, 'only two aldermen supported Burke and Cruger' while no 'clergyman in the city supported Burke'.[103] By contrast, Brickdale received a lot of

support from, in Baigent's words, 'the clergy and gentry, the urban patriciate, and the Corporation who represented authority within the town'.[104] Likewise, Rogers notes that, during the 1781 election, Daubeny was able to draw on 'more support from the gentlemen, professions, merchants and genteel trades' than Cruger.[105] While it is clear that the voting habits of shoemakers and tailors largely mirrored those of the communities in which they lived, it is also clear that the eastern parishes represented the real stronghold of the Whig party. The importance of the eastern area to the Whig interest is further illustrated by the fact that votes in this area constituted the largest proportion of any single area. Around 45 per cent of all votes in these elections came from the eastern parishes.

PARTISAN VOTING

While differences in party preference were therefore shaped by social demography, votes for certain parties also represented a growth in partisan voting. However, given that voters were allowed a maximum of two votes it is important to delineate the proportion of voters who used the full allocation, known hereafter as double voters, and those who only utilised one vote, known as 'plumpers'. The proportion of 'plumpers' enables an understanding of the nature of partisan voting, since single votes were clearly intended to maximise support for a particular candidate. Plumping was therefore potentially an important issue with regard to Bristol elections in this period, given that the Tory and Whig parties only stood one candidate in 1774 and 1784 respectively. The pattern of 'plumping' for a single candidate in a contest of three candidates has been characterised as 'necessary plumping' by Phillips and O'Gorman.[106] In a three-cornered contest, victory was won by the side 'which could encourage the voters to vote for the two candidates who were running together' or to the 'single candidate who could convince his supporters to refrain from using their second votes and thus help his opponents'.[107] In this regard, Brickdale obviously failed to convince enough voters to vote *only* vote for him, while, in 1784, Cruger succeeded in convincing enough voters to vote for him alone. To assess whether 'necessary plumping' was a commonly-used tactic at Bristol elections, one needs to enquire whether areas with a bias towards the party represented by a single candidate in each case displayed a higher ratio of plumping votes, compared to areas where the party fielding two candidates was popular. The proportional split of the electorate in each area between 'plumpers' and double voters was therefore ascertained.[108] This revealed that 'necessary plumping' was indeed an important factor in Bristol elections of the period. While plumpers formed less than 25 per cent of the Eastern electorate in 1774, which is not surprising given the huge Whig support in this area, almost 50 per cent of voters here used a plumping vote in 1784. Not surprisingly this was the year when Cruger needed these

votes to overturn the strong Brickdale/Daubeny platform. This trend was duplicated among the shoemakers and tailors of the Eastern district. By contrast, in the Tory-supporting Southern areas plumpers made up 42 per cent of the electorate in 1774, and a majority among the shoemakers (54%) and tailors (63%). In 1784, however, plumpers constituted only a third of all voters and of shoemakers, and just 15 per cent of tailors. Thus, while plumping was highest in Southern Tory-supporting parishes in 1774, in 1784 it was of most relevance in the Whig-supporting parishes in the Eastern areas of the city. The Bristol elections of 1774 and 1784 therefore represent examples of 'necessary plumping'. Plumping, as O'Gorman notes, was not always seen as a necessary exercise.[109] The ratio of 'plumping' votes therefore varied considerably, in 1774, for example, 5 and 1.8 per cent of voters in Southampton and Newcastle respectively used a plumping vote, while only 1.1 per cent of the York electorate did so in 1784. However, plumpers constituted a fair proportion of the Cirencester electorate, ranging from 31 per cent in 1768 to 22 per cent in 1790.[110]

Table 6:14 : The Shoemakers: Distribution of 'Plumper' and Double votes per Party, 1774-1784

Type of Voter	Area/Year	Whig	Tory	Whig/Tory	Total
Plumpers	Bristol 1774	24 (29%)	59 (71%)	-	83
Doubles	Bristol 1774	139 (81%)	4 (2%)	29 (17%)	172
Total	**Bristol 1774**	**163 (64%)**	**63 (25%)**	**29 (11%)**	**255**
Plumpers	Out-vote 1774	-	34 (100%)	-	34
Doubles	Out-vote 1774	42 (98%)	-	1 (2%)	43
Grand Total	**1774**	**205 (62%)**	**97 (29%)**	**30 (9%)**	**332**
Plumpers	Bristol 1784	100 (100%)	-	-	100
Doubles	Bristol 1784	17 (10%)	113 (70%)	32 (20%)	162
Total	**Bristol 1784**	**117 (45%)**	**113 (43%)**	**32 (12%)**	**262**
Plumpers	Out-vote 1784	55 (98%)	1 (2%)	-	56
Doubles	Out-vote 1784	10 (14%)	58 (85%)	1 (1%)	69
Grand Total	**1784**	**182 (47%)**	**172 (44%)**	**33 (9%)**	**387**

Table 6:15 : The Tailors: Distribution of 'Plumper' and Double votes per Party, 1774-1784

Type of Voter	Area/Year	Whig	Tory	Whig/Tory	Total
Plumpers	Bristol 1774	4 (16%)	21 (84%)	-	25
Doubles	Bristol 1774	53 (73%)	3 (4%)	17 (23%)	73
Total	**Bristol 1774**	**57 (59%)**	**24 (24%)**	**17 (17%)**	**98**
Plumpers	Out-vote 1774	-	21 (100%)	-	21
Doubles	Out-vote 1774	28 (93%)	-	2 (7%)	30
Grand Total	**1774**	**85 (57%)**	**45 (30%)**	**19 (13%)**	**149**
Plumpers	Bristol 1784	33 (97%)	1 (3%)	-	34
Doubles	Bristol 1784	9 (11%)	65 (76%)	11 (13%)	85
Total	**Bristol 1784**	**42 (35%)**	**66 (55%)**	**11 (10%)**	**119**
Plumpers	Out-vote 1784	28 (100%)	-	-	28
Doubles	Out-vote 1784	3 (8%)	31 (84%)	3 (8%)	37
Grand Total	**1784**	**73 (40%)**	**97 (52%)**	**14 (8%)**	**184**

The extent of partisan voting can be further understood by dividing the double voters into 'straight' party voters, being those who awarded both votes to candidates of the same

party, and 'split' voters, whereby two votes went to candidates of each party.[111] Tables 6:14 and 6:15 reveal the manner in which both 'plumping' and double votes were spread between the parties as well as the extent to which 'necessary plumping' was used as a tactic during the Bristol elections of 1774 and 1784. In 1774, plumping among shoemakers was clearly intended by Tory supporters of that trade to bolster Brickdale's chances. Thus, 80 per cent of double voters were 'straight' voters for the Whig platform of Cruger and Burke. However, a significant minority of plumpers (29%) used a single vote for a Whig candidate, primarily for Cruger, tending to reinforce the argument that some Whig supporters were far from happy with Burke's candidature. The process was even more pronounced among tailors as over 80 per cent of plumpers opted for Brickdale, while over 70 per cent of double voters were 'straight' Whig voters. In 1784, plumper votes for Cruger accounted for 100 per cent of shoemakers' votes, and 97 per cent of tailors' votes. Accordingly, the 'straight' Tory vote represented 70 and 76 per cent of double voters among the shoemakers and tailors respectively. These trends were repeated across the entire electorate, with the result that Cruger accrued enough votes from 'necessary plumpers' to beat Daubeny into second place. Out-voters witnessed an even more emphatic division of interests. In both trades practically all the double votes were used to the advantage of the two-candidate party, while nearly all the plumping votes were cast for the 'necessary' single candidate. This trend among out-voters is not surprising given that party machines took particular care to organise out-voters to their own tactical advantage, and spent large sums bringing in these voters and looking after them once they had arrived. However, the relative congruity of tactical voting habits between in- and out-voters suggests that electoral campaigns were also geared towards ensuring that Bristol-residents utilised their vote in highly tactical ways. Overall, the fact that most voters either utilised a plumping or a 'straight' vote indicated that most voters opted to back a political party in each election.

However, such allegiances were not necessarily set in stone. While the Whigs were clearly favoured by shoemakers in 1774 and 1784 (in the latter year Cruger was more popular among this group than Brickdale and Daubeny put together), tailors displayed a greater tendency to shift towards the Tories in 1784. Party preference was therefore a strong element in voting choice, with the result that 'split' voters only accounted for around 12 per cent of Bristol-based shoemakers, and between 10 and 17 per cent of Bristol-based tailors. These votes were similar to trends across the Bristol-based electorate as a whole in 1774. Baigent's study reveals that while 56 per cent of the Bristol-based electorate voted Whig, 28 per cent voted Tory and the remaining 16 per cent split their votes, thus yielding

similar figures to those for shoemakers and tailors.[112] The division between 'straight' party voting and 'split' voting was similar in Bristol to elsewhere. At Cirencester, for example, party voters constituted 86 per cent of the electorate in 1768, while the remaining 12 per cent were 'split' voters. Likewise, in Southampton party voters constituted 78 per cent of voters in 1774 while 22 per cent were 'split' voters.[113]

Experienced Voters

While Bristol elections therefore manifested strong elements of both party and partisan voting habits, the aggregated blocks of figures for the above groups offer little understanding of whether voters consistently backed certain candidates or parties. To examine this it is necessary to access the voting behaviour of individuals who voted in more than one election. It is therefore necessary to isolate samples of experienced voters in both trades, in order to gauge whether commitments to one party were consistently followed. Over the three elections studied here identical names of voters were matched. This process yielded 555 individual shoemakers and 266 individual tailors, of whom 349 shoemakers and 155 tailors voted in either two or three elections. A match was considered to have occurred when both name and trade matched, even if parish or area of residence had changed. Of the 349 shoemakers isolated as experienced voters, 110 (31.5%) had moved as had 41 (26.5%) of the 155 tailors.

These figures reflect fairly standard levels of mobility given both the uncertainty of work in the period and mobility trends established in chapter two. The problems of locating experienced voters are not novel. Phillips, for example, used 'nominal record linkage' in his quest for those who voted in numerous elections in various places over the period between 1761 and 1802.[114] His methods reinforce those used here because Phillips matched names even when they diverged in detail over 'one major point' such as 'address or occupation'.[115] Naturally, given its nature, matching occupations was crucial to this study with the result that occupational mismatches were not a problem. The relatively short time span also meant that the chances of the same name and occupation being shared by two different individuals were less likely. This study therefore required less sophisticated matching techniques than those deployed by Phillips who was studying of whole electorates over decades thereby rendering record linkage a major issue. Phillips compared voting lists with 'tax rolls' in order to substantiate the accuracy of his data. This system was, however, unnecessary in this study not least because Bristol's tax returns excluded most journeymen and because this evidence rarely listed occupational data.[116] The fact that the proportions of experienced shoemaking and tailoring voters roughly tally with those

established by O'Gorman for the Bristol electorate as a whole supports the reliability of the approach taken. This is especially the case because O'Gorman's study utilised an extended record linkage practice. The results, laid out in table 6:16, reaffirms the validity of the methodology employed here, as differentials between the tailors (TE) and O'Gorman's

Table 6:16 : Experienced Voters as a Proportion of the Electorate, 1781 and 1784

Constituency*	Year	Previous election	% of voters experienced
BE**	1781	1774	50%
SE (376)	1781	1774	60% (228)
SM (44)	1781	1774	82% (36)
TE (167)	1781	1774	54% (91)
TM (46)	1781	1774	67% (31)
BE**	1784	1781	67%
SE (387)	1784	1781	77% (300)
SM (43)	1784	1781	88% (38)
TE (184)	1784	1781	73% (135)
TM (48)	1784	1781	85% (41)

* See previous tables for abbreviations.
** Figures for the total electorate are taken from O'Gorman, *Voters, Patrons and Parties*, pp. 194-195.

figures were only 4 and 6 per cent respectively, while those for the shoemakers (SE) were 10 per cent higher than among the Bristol electorate. The Bristol figures were not unusual. In Liverpool 65.5 per cent of voters in the 1784 election had voted in 1780, while 77.4 per cent of voters in 1790 had voted in 1784.[117] Overall these figures imply that shoemaking and tailoring constituencies numbered more experienced voters among their ranks than the Bristol electorate as a whole. However, O'Gorman's figure for the Bristol electorate represented an average. This means that they conceal variations between different occupational and social groups. The proportions of experienced voters among the clergy and sailors would, for example, be at opposite extremes of the scale. While the proportion of experienced voters among masters may seem very high, this is to be expected considering the time and expense it took to establish a business, and not least to build and retain a customer base.

Having established a fairly accurate sample of individual shoemakers and tailors who voted in at least two elections, it is possible to analyse whether the party choices of these individuals changed markedly during the course of the three elections. Table 6:17 looks at the voting records of voters to establish the proportions who consistently voted for the same party. The voting record was broken down between those who only ever voted for Whig or Tory candidates, and those who at some stage voted for candidates of both parties. Table 6:17 therefore makes two important contributions to our understanding of the consistency of voting habits among experienced voters. Firstly, it reveals that the proportion of experienced voters who at some stage mixed their party allegiances was high

enough to suggest that partisan voting was particular to specific elections. Thus, 50 per cent of all shoemakers who voted in all three elections at some stage voted for at least one Tory or one Whig candidate. This is a high ratio considering that in 1781 there could be no 'split' voting. The fact that 30 per cent of shoemakers voting in two elections mixed their vote is also fairly high, considering that 69 per cent of this sample voted in the 1781 and

Table 6:17: The Shoemakers and Tailors: Party Choices of Experienced voters, 1774-1784

Trade*	Elections	Whig (%)	Tory (%)	Whig/Tory (%)	Total
SM	3	11 (33.33%)	2 (6.06%)	20 (60.61%)	33
SJ**	3	54 (34.18%)	27 (17.09%)	77 (48.73%)	158
SE Total	3	65 (34.03%)	29 (15.18%)	97 (50.79%)	191
SM	2	2 (22.22%)	4 (44.45%)	3 (33.33%)	9
SJ**	2	52 (34.90%)	52 (34.90%)	45 (30.20%)	149
SE Total	2	54 (34.18%)	56 (35.44%)	48 (30.38%)	158
SE Grand Tot.	2 & 3	119 (34.10%)	85 (24.36%)	145 (41.54%)	349
TM	3	7 (25%)	5 (17.86%)	16 (57.14%)	28
TJ**	3	9 (18.75%)	10 (20.83%)	29 (60.42%)	48
TE Total	3	16 (21.05%)	15 (19.74%)	45 (59.21%)	76
TM	2	4 (25%)	7 (43.75%)	5 (31.25%)	16
TJ**	2	25 (39.68%)	18 (28.57%)	20 (31.75%)	63
TE Total	2	29 (36.70%)	25 (31.65%)	25 (31.65%)	79
TE Grand Tot	2 & 3	45 (29.03%)	40 (25.81%)	70 (45.16%)	155

* See previous tables for abbreviations.
** This figure included all experienced voters not identified as masters.

1784 elections, and that 'split' voting was only possible in 1784. Among the tailors, almost 60 per cent of those who voted in three elections at some stage voted for candidates of both parties.

The high proportions of voters who at some stage swapped party allegiances may be indicative of the changing pressures upon Bristol politics in this period. However, it is important not to overstate the proportion of voters who 'split' their party allegiance, since table 6:17 reveals that large minorities stayed loyal to each party. This leads to the second point, the extent of Cruger's huge popularity among both trades. This is especially important so if one recalls that the vast majority of Burke's votes in 1774 were cast in tandem with votes for Cruger, and that the latter was the only serious Whig contender in 1781 and 1784. The proportion of consistent 'Tory' voters can, therefore, also be interpreted as the proportion of voters who *never in any shape or form* voted for Henry Cruger, revealing the true popularity of the New York-born candidate. Interestingly, only 15 per cent of shoemakers who voted in all three elections never voted for Cruger, while only 35 per cent who appeared in two elections did likewise. These figures are remarkable figure given the fact that the majority of this sample appeared in 1781 when Cruger's Bristol vote declined. The argument that tailors were more prone to vote Tory is challenged by the fact that only 20 per cent of tailors appearing in all three elections never

voted for Cruger, while only 31 per cent of those voting in two elections did not vote for Cruger. However, those tailors who were committed to one party were far more evenly split between the two parties, compared to the shoemakers. While 21 per cent of tailors voting in three elections were committed to the Whigs and 20 per cent to the Tories, 34 per cent of the shoemakers were consistently aligned to the Whigs while only 15 per cent stayed loyal to the Tories. Overall, then, the Whig party enjoyed more loyal support among the shoemakers, though the existence of 'split' voters among the tailors demonstrates that Cruger was also individually popular among this group. The pattern of voting among experienced shoemakers and tailors therefore reflects the popularity that Cruger enjoyed among artisans in general.

Conclusion

The support for anti-war Whig candidates in 1774, and support for pro-war Tory candidates in subsequent elections, suggests that the American War had a serious impact on Bristol politics. This study has shown that the city's shoemakers and tailors were not immune from these wider trends. Indeed, differences between the voting behaviour of in- and out-voters reinforce the view that the political climate in Bristol itself shaped the voting habits of residents. However, such initial enquires only revealed a fraction of the story. Thus, it was found that while the whole electorate showed no great disposition towards one party, both master and journeymen shoemakers clearly favoured the Whig interest. By contrast, journeymen tailors veered towards the Whigs while their masters generally supported the Tory party. This was perhaps partly due to discord within the trade itself, thus, in 1784, a year without industrial disputes, both master and journeymen tailors supported the Tories. Social demography also had a major impact upon voting behaviour. Thus, the edifice of support for the Whig interest and Cruger relied almost wholly on the populous eastern parishes, and this was the only area to always award the Whig candidate the majority of its votes. The fact that the southern and non-artisan areas consistently gave Tory candidates a majority also undermines the idea that distinctive trade-based voting interests existed. The only exception was the slight preference of southern-based shoemakers for the Whigs, perhaps due to links with eastern-based shoemakers. In all other instances shoemakers and tailors voted more or less in accordance with the general results for the area in which they resided. The fact that the proportions of experienced voters who changed their party allegiances were fairly high may be due to the relative mobility of these groups. Voters may have been more susceptible to influences in the areas to which they moved. Although the voting patterns of experienced voters do reveal a certain level of trade-related voting habits, this must be related to the fact that the majority of shoemakers

and tailors resided in the eastern area of the city. This factor explains the consistent support for Cruger among experienced shoemaker and tailor-voters.

ENDNOTES

[1] P. T. Underdown, 'Henry Cruger and Edmund Burke: Colleagues and Rivals at the Bristol Election of 1774', *William and Mary Quarterly*, XV, 1958, p. 15.
[2] E. J. Evans, *Political Parties in Britain, 1783-1867* (London, 1985), p. 3.
[3] E. Baigent, 'Bristol society in the later eighteenth century with special reference to the handling by computer of fragmentary historical sources', D.Phil. thesis, University of Oxford, (1985), p. 337.
[4] M. Chase, *Early Trade Unionism: Fraternity, Skill and the Politics of Labour* (Aldershot, 2000), p. 48. Chase was speaking of the national picture rather than specifically of Bristol.
[5] J. A. Phillips, *Electoral Behaviour in Unreformed England: Plumpers, Splitters, and Straights* (Princeton, New Jersey, 1982), p. 208.; F. O' Gorman, *Voters, Patrons, and Parties: The Unreformed Electoral System of Hanoverian England, 1734-1832* (Oxford, 1989), p. 206.
[6] R. A. Leeson, *Travelling Brothers: The six centuries road from craft fellowship to trade unionism* (London, 1979), p. 89.
[7] G. Rude, *Wilkes and Liberty: A Social Study of 1763 to 1774* (Oxford, 1962); E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (London, 1963; 1991 Penguin reprint), especially ch.4, 'The Free-born Englishman' and ch. 5, 'Planting the Liberty Tree'.; H. T. Dickinson, *The Politics of the People in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (London, 1994); M. Chase, *Early Trade Unionism*, especially ch. 3, 'No strangers to the Rights of Man' which summarises the existing debate. These represent just a fraction of the literature of artisans and radical politics.
[8] See T. Harris, (ed.), *The Politics of the Excluded, c. 1500-1850* (Cambridge, 2001).
[9] M. Harrison, *Crowds and History: Mass Phenomena in English Towns, 1790-1835* (Cambridge, 1988), p. 83.
[10] N. Rogers, 'Crowds and Political Festival in Georgian England' in T. Harris (ed.), *The Politics of the Excluded, c. 1500-1850* (Cambridge, 2001), p. 234.
[11] E. J. Hobsbawm and J. Scott, 'Political Shoemakers', *Past and Present*, 89 (1980), pp. 94-95.
[12] J. Latimer, *The Annals of Bristol in the Eighteenth Century* (Bristol, 1893), pp. 414-415.
[13] A slight presumption has been taken with Lord Clare's votes in 1774. Although nominally a Whig he supported the War, and given his loss of support locally and small number of votes, for ease of presentation his vote has been placed with the Tories.
[14] Henry Cruger (1739-1827) was a New York-born merchant who came to live in Bristol in 1757, and after marrying the daughter of Samuel Peach in 1765, a Bristol merchant, Cruger and his father-in-law were seen to be 'among the leaders of the radical movement' in Bristol. See L. Namier & J. Brooke, *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons, 1754-1790, Volume 3* (London, 1964), p. 280.
[15] Rude, *Wilkes and Liberty*, p. 195. While such views echoed those of William Beckford's from the 1750s, the achievement of Wilkes was to not only win over 'freeholders and freemen' but to 'harness the political energies and support of many thousands' who had been previously 'untouched by parliamentary or municipal elections'. See p. 196.
[16] Rude, *Wilkes and Liberty*, pp. 105-106. ; Dickinson, *Politics of the People*, p. 40.
[17] Rude, *Wilkes and Liberty*, p. 113.
[18] *Ibid.*, p. 113, 149.
[19] J. Brewer, *Party ideology and popular politics at the accession of George III* (Cambridge, 1976), p. 178.
[20] Rude, *Wilkes and Liberty*, p. 175; Dickinson, *Politics of the People*, p. 233.
[21] Namier & Brooke, *History of Parliament*, p. 280.
[22] J. Cannon, *Parliamentary Reform, 1640-1832* (Cambridge, 1972) p. 66.
[23] Namier & Brooke, *History of Parliament*, p. 280; Cannon, *Parliamentary Reform*, p. 66.
[24] *Felix Farley's Bristol Journal* (hereafter FFBJ), 8/10/1774.
[25] Rude, *Wilkes and Liberty*, p. 195.
[26] *Ibid.*
[27] Namier & Brooke, *History of Parliament*, p. 148, 280.
[28] FFBJ 15/10/1774, 22/10/1774.
[29] FFBJ 29/10/1774. There were many similar objections to Burke. In a letter attacking Burke's opposition to short parliaments one writer asked; 'Is it not notorious, that the present long duration of parliament has taken from you all constitutional check and controul over your members, except the very trifling one of a septennial election?'. (FFBJ 15/10/1774) Another writer felt that Burke's support was gained from mistaken perception of his true principles; 'Do you think that the friends of general liberty, who seem to join you with Mr. Cruger, were acquainted that you were the enemy of short Parliaments?'. (FFBJ 22/10/1774).
[30] Underdown, 'Henry Cruger and Edmund Burke', p. 28.
[31] Namier & Brooke, *History of Parliament*, p. 282.
[32] *Ibid.*
[33] Underdown, 'Henry Cruger and Edmund Burke', p. 14.; Evans, *Political Parties*, p. 5.
[34] Underdown, 'Henry Cruger and Edmund Burke', p. 31.
[35] Latimer, *Annals of Bristol*, p. 409.

[36] *Ibid.*
[37] *Ibid.*
[38] Underdown, 'Henry Cruger and Edmund Burke', p. 15.
[39] *Ibid.*, p. 19.
[40] Latimer, *Annals of Bristol*, p. 413.; Namier & Brooke, *History of Parliament*, pp. 115-116.
[41] O'Gorman, *Voters, Patrons and Parties*, p. 195.
[42] Latimer, *Annals of Bristol*, p. 415.
[43] J. E. Bradley, *Popular Politics and the American Revolution in England: Petitions, the Crown, and Public Opinion* (Macon, Georgia, 1986), p. 13.
[44] *Ibid.*, p. 65.
[45] FFBJ 15/10/1774.
[46] Latimer, *Annals of Bristol*, p. 431.
[47] *Ibid.*
[48] *Ibid.*, p. 439.
[49] *Ibid.*, p. 434, 444-445.
[50] Latimer, *Annals of Bristol*, pp. 432-433. In April 1778 Burke's support in Parliament for a resolution that allowed both Irish goods to be exported to the colonies and for colonial goods to be imported into Ireland without passing through England first, caused outrage in Bristol. Ironically the resolution had been proposed by Lord Nugent, the former Lord Clare whom Burke had effectively replaced as a Bristol MP. In Bristol Nugent's actions were 'ascribed to a diabolical spite' against the city for his rejection by its voters in 1774.
[51] Latimer, *Annals of Bristol*, pp. 444-445.; Namier & Brooke, *History of Parliament*, p. 282.
[52] Latimer, *Annals of Bristol*, p. 444.
[53] However O'Gorman is rather ambiguous on whether treating actually helped candidates to win. On the one hand he recognised that treating did not 'represent a genuine corruption of the individual elector', while he also recognised that it could also be used to exert 'influence over the electors'. Within the heightened context of the American War, it would seem evident that treating was used to achieve a specific result. See O'Gorman, *Voters, Patrons and Parties*, p. 142.
[54] Latimer, *Annals of Bristol*, p. 446.
[55] *Ibid.*
[56] *Ibid.*, p. 446, 448.
[57] *Ibid.*, p. 446.
[58] *Ibid.*, pp. 446-447.
[59] FFBJ 10/2/1781.
[60] FFBJ 3/3/1781.
[61] Latimer, *Annals of Bristol*, p. 447.
[62] *Ibid.*, pp. 451-452.
[63] *Ibid.*, pp. 452-453
[64] *Ibid.*, p. 456.
[65] FFBJ 10/4/1784.
[66] FFBJ 10/4/1784.
[67] Latimer, *Annals of Bristol*, pp. 456-457.
[68] *Ibid.*, p. 457.
[69] Latimer, *Annals of Bristol*, pp. 536-537.; Dickinson, *Politics of the People*, p. 100.
[70] Baigent, 'Bristol society in the later eighteenth century', p. 327.
[71] Namier & Brooke, *History of Parliament*, p. 302.
[72] Namier & Brooke, *History of Parliament*, p. 115.; FFBJ 8/10/1774.
[73] Namier & Brooke, *History of Parliament*, p. 115.
[74] Chapter 2 has already provided a division between in and out voters.
[75] O'Gorman, *Voters, Patrons and Parties*, p. 192.
[76] *Ibid.* The Newcastle figure relates to 1774 and 1780, Dover to 1770, Leicester to 1766, and York to 1774 and 1784.
[77] Baigent, 'Bristol society in the later eighteenth century', p. 363.
[78] Phillips, *Electoral Behaviour*, p. 188.
[79] O'Gorman, *Voters, Patrons and Parties*, pp. 192-193; See Chapter Two for Bristol figures.
[80] O'Gorman, *Voters, Patrons and Parties*, p. 193.
[81] *Ibid.*, p. 153
[82] Phillips, *Electoral Behaviour*, pp. 78-79.
[83] The only blip in this neat division lay with Clare in 1774, a Whig who supported the War, though his vote was so marginal that its inclusion among the war-supporting Tory figures will hardly distort the results.
[84] The Bristol-resident voters were divided into samples of masters and journeymen by using the following method. Given that two trade directories, those of 1775 and 1785, closely correspond in time to the elections of 1774 and 1784, it was possible to match names from the voting lists with the trade directories. The 1775 trade directory was cross-matched first with the 1774 Poll Book, and then the 1781 Poll Book, while the 1785 directory was cross-matched with the 1784 Poll Book and the 1781 Poll Book. Names on voting lists

were deemed to be masters when their names also appeared in trade directories, practising their trade in the same parish, or a similar part of the city.
[85] See Chapter 5 of this thesis.
[86] FFBJ 10/2/1781.
[87] FFBJ 10/2/1781; Latimer, *Annals of Bristol*, p. 447.
[88] FFBJ 20/1/1781.
[89] *Sarah Farley's Btistol Journal* (hereafter SFBJ), 27/1/1781.
[90] SFBJ 27/1/1781.
[91] FFBJ 20/1/1781.
[92] FFBJ 10/4/1784. Two letters in this issue claimed Cruger had trashed symbols of British sovereignty.
[93] FFBJ 10/4/1784.
[94] E. Baigent, 'Economy and society in eighteenth-century English towns: Bristol in the 1770s' in D. Denecke and G. Shaw, (eds), *Urban Historical Geography: Recent Progress in Britain and Germany* (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 118-119.
[95] N. Rogers, *Whigs and Cities: Popular Politics in the Age of Walpole and Pitt* (Oxford, 1989), p. 272.
[96] SFBJ 3/2/1781.
[97] Namier & Brooke, *History of Parliament*, p. 282.
[98] Underdown, 'Henry Cruger and Edmund Burke', pp. 23-25.
[99] Baigent, 'Bristol society in the later eighteenth century', p. 354.
[100] FFBJ 27/1/781.
[101] FFBJ 27/1/1781.
[102] Baigent, 'Bristol society in the later eighteenth century', p. 355.
[103] Latimer, *Annals of Bristol*, p. 410.
[104] Baigent, 'Bristol society in the later eighteenth century', p. 338.
[105] N. Rogers, 'The Middling Sort in Eighteenth-Century Politics' in J. Barry and C. Brooks (eds), *The Middling Sort of People: Culture, Society and Politics in England, 1550-1800* (London, 1994), p. 176.
[106] O'Gorman, *Voters, Patrons and Parties*, p. 374.; Phillips, *Electoral Behaviour*, p. 222.
[107] O'Gorman, *Voters, Patrons and Parties*, p. 374.; Phillips, *Electoral Behaviour*, pp. 222-6.
[108] The split between plumpers and double voters was calculated in the following way. If one takes the number of voters in each parish and doubles this number, one reaches the maximun number of votes that could possibly be cast if every voter took up their option of two votes. If one then deducts from this figure the number of actual votes cast, the difference equals the number of plumpers, and so if you subtract the number of plumpers from number of voters overall this also gives a figure for double voters. To insure the calculation had been carried out correctly, merely multiply the double voters by two and add the number of plumpers, and this will equate to the total number of votes that were cast.
[109] O'Gorman, *Voters, Patrons and Parties*, p. 375.
[110] *Ibid.*, p. 376.
[111] Phillips, *Electoral Behaviour*, p. 20.
[112] Baigent, 'Bristol society in the later eighteenth century', pp. 329-330.
[113] O'Gorman, *Voters, Patrons and Parties*, p. 372.
[114] Phillips, *Electoral Behaviour*, pp. 312-313.
[115] *Ibid.*, p. 318.
[116] Phillips, *Electoral Behaviour*, pp. 313-314.; Baigent, 'Bristol in the 1770s', p. 112.
[117] O'Gorman, *Voters, Patrons and Parties*, pp. 194-195.

CONCLUSION

> Men make their own history, but they do not make it just as they please; they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances directly encountered, given and transmitted from the past. (Karl Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (1869, 1984 edn.), p. 10.)

This quote, from Marx, although written in the late nineteenth century, nevertheless encapsulates the experience of Bristol artisans in the late eighteenth century. Indeed Marx's hypothesis is reflected in the structure of this work; part one and part two examined issues of production, living conditions, and standards of living, all aspects of life over which journeymen had at best limited control. Part three introduced aspects of 'agency', and examined how journeymen sought to redress grievances through strike action and the ways in which they engaged in the political process by forming an integral part of the Bristol electorate. The structure of this work therefore reflects the reality of their lives, given that the majority of the circumstances facing artisans in this period were not of their choosing or making. By also focusing on the manner in which artisans tried to change their lives, during strikes, and by becoming involved in public affairs through elections, it illustrates that Bristol's artisans were far from purely victims of circumstance.

On a more detailed level, how can the socio-economic experience of Bristol's shoemakers and tailors be summarised? The evidence tends to indicate that the market for the goods that these trades produced was growing inexorably in the later eighteenth century. The growth in domestic population, coupled with a thriving transatlantic export trade, meant that the market for these goods, and for shoes in particular, was buoyant. This was more marked in the shoemaking trade, since shoes, unlike clothes, could not be made by people at home. Furthermore, these developments were not curtailed by the two wars that accounted for fifteen of the thirty years between 1770 and 1800, since demands by the military and navy for clothing and footwear meant that the temporary loss of export markets was not fatal. These developments meant that the ready-made trade in both shoes and clothes, although especially footwear, became the predominant form of production in terms of the numbers engaged in this work, while bespoke production continued to meet the demands of a more discerning and prosperous clientele.

There were important differences between the two trades in terms of the organisation of production. While journeymen shoemakers were divided between those who made male and female footwear, journeymen tailors predominantly made clothes for customers of both genders, despite the existence of female-dominated trades such as millinery in the city. There was a key difference also in the location of work; while tailors predominantly

worked in workshops run by their employers, shoemakers worked largely at home and were therefore out-workers. Furthermore, tailors were paid weekly wage rates, by contrast with shoemakers who were paid by the piece, with the result that their earnings were strictly linked to production levels. These factors had an impact on the respective attitude of both trades to the use of female labour. While tailors strongly objected to the employment of women, as demonstrated in 1773 and 1795, it was common for the wives of married shoemakers to work alongside their husbands.

This difference, whereby tailors were workshop-based and received time-wages, while shoemakers were outworking piece-workers, may have had a perceptible impact on the collective strength of each trade. The fact that tailors were congregated together during work times undoubtedly allowed for feelings of common grievances to accumulate. Furthermore if time-wages were not keeping pace with price movements, as seen in this study, there was a clear correlation in the eyes of workers of the need for higher wages. However, in the shoemaking trade the same assumptions were not so easily made. Shoemakers often worked at home, and although many single men shared workrooms, it was harder for common grievances to accumulate among this group than tailors. Piece-rates also encouraged men to work as hard as they could, and in times of rising prices the *first* impulse of journeymen shoemakers appears to have been to increase production levels. There is evidence to suggest that Bristol's shoemakers only struck when despite working a seven-day week they still were not able to secure a living wage. These different circumstances may explain why Bristol's tailors undertook five full-blown strikes in this period, while shoemakers engaged in just two. The method of gaining employment in the tailoring trade, through the 'house of call', further strengthened instances in which collective grievances could be aired and acted upon. Tailors had to register at the 'house of call' to obtain work, thereby making men more aware of their collective strength; something reflected in the fact that 'houses of call' became the organising centres of disputes for journeymen. Shoemakers, by contrast, shoemakers had to call at individual shops in person. Therefore, both the method of gaining employment and the actual location of work, combined with different methods of wage-payment, meant that there were many more possibilities for the growth of collective grievances in the tailoring trade than in shoemaking.

Despite the greater capacity for collective grievances to accumulate, the wages of Bristol's tailors only rose once between 1773 and 1796, suggesting that strike action was frequently unsuccessful. Two tactics used by both tailors and shoemakers also suggest that they were

frequently on the 'defensive'. Firstly, tailors, in particular, never used a favourite tactic of their London counterparts; going on the tramp in order to starve masters of their labour supply. This was not due to any unwillingness to move. Considerable numbers of tailors (and shoemakers), having served their apprenticeships in Bristol and obtained the freeman vote for the city, left Bristol for ordinary work purposes. Rather, journeymen were more concerned with keeping labour from entering the city. Engineering an exodus to starve the labour supply was only valid if the masters could not find replacement labour. In Bristol masters were generally able to find labour to replace strikers, further highlighting the collective weakness and 'defensive' quality of many of these strikes. Secondly, the manner in which appeals to the 'public' were made in the newspapers also suggests collective weakness. The moral invective used in these insertions concerning food prices suggests that Bristol shoemakers and tailors did not have the collective muscle to fight their employers without the assistance of wider 'public' support.

Collective weakness was also due to the density of the two trades within Bristol. Neither shoemakers nor tailors constituted a significant section of Bristol society, due to the mixed nature of the city's economy. However, the distribution of journeymen from these trades meant that it was increasingly likely for artisans to dominate certain parts of the city, and especially the eastern parishes. This undoubtedly aided the organisation and cohesion of journeymen, especially in the tailoring trade where journeymen-controlled 'houses of call' came increasingly to be situated in this eastern sector. The period therefore witnessed growing distinctions in the social composition of Bristol's parishes. Eastern and southern parts of Bristol were, by this juncture, increasingly populated by artisans and labourers. This may help to explain the support awarded to the shoemakers by other journeymen in 1792. The growing social homogeneity of these areas may also explain the continued support in parliamentary elections for the trade-friendly candidature of Henry Cruger, by contrast with support in the prosperous central and western areas of Bristol for pro-Government candidates. Artisans, therefore, especially in the eastern sector, were beginning to indicate signs of a growing 'class' identity, both in terms of their strike action and in terms of their voting habits at parliamentary elections.

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